THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

DECEMBER 1963

What Shall Be Prohibited?	Leonard E. Read	3
How To Attract Capital	Walter B. Wriston	11
The American Tradition: 9. Of Internationalism	Clarence B. Carson	13
Riding a Rocking Horse	Wall Street Journal	29
Consumer Protection and Freedom of Choice	Roland B. Smith	31
Whose Child Is This?	D. M. Westerholm	43
The Educational Crisis	Andrew V. Santangini	45
Socialist Road to Tyranny	George N. Crocker	52
Books:		
The Propriety of Property	John Chamberlain	53
Other Books		56
Index for 1963		59

THE FOUNDATION
FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York 10533

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSTANDING ADVANTAGES FOR COAST FEDERAL SAVERS

FINANCIAL STRENGTH — Assets over half a billion dollars. Strong reserves and high ratio of cash and government bonds to assure withdrawal of savings immediately on request.

HIGHER EARNINGS — Earnings for first six months of 1963 paid at 4.90% per year.

MAIN OFFICE
9th & Hill, Los Angeles

SAVE-BY-MAIL — We pay postage.

MEMBER:
Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp.
Federal Home Loan Bank.

IF IT'S SAFETY YOU WANT MOST—
OPEN YOUR SAVINGS ACCOUNT AT COAST

"A Businessman Looks at Communism Vs. Capitalism"

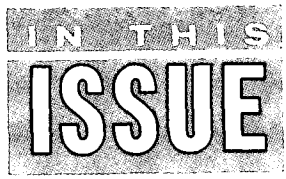
For your courtesy copy of President Joe Crail's speech, write to:

Coast Federal Savings
Post Office Box 5150A
Los Angeles 55, California

COAST FEDERAL SAVINGS

AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The great burden of the "welfare state" and authoritarianism generally is not so much what the citizen is compelled to do but what he is prohibited from doing on his own initiative with his own resources ..... p. 3

A bank executive explains the fundamentals of economic and political stability to which nations, communities, and individuals should adhere if they would attract capital to their cause ..... p. 11

Professor Carson clarifies the traditional American position of economic internationalism and political laissez-faire, most conspicuous today in the breach and in the return toward mercantilism ..... p. 16

A Wall Street Journal editorial offers a kind word for letting prices fluctuate freely to balance supply and demand and to give consumers the best buy ..... p. 29

And if you do not wish to re-examine your thinking about the government's role in protecting consumers against the enthusiasm of advertisers, you'd best skip right by Professor Smith's provocative piece. ..... p. 31

Dollie Westerholm shares another of her lessons in freedom, gleaned from the wisdom of youth ..... p. 43

An Alabama businessman offers some helpful suggestions on how to meet the growing costs of education, particularly at the college level, without adding to the tax load ..... p. 45

George Crocker, California columnist, explains why absolute dictatorial control must inevitably grow out of benevolent socialism ..... p. 52

Our favorite reviewer finds his favorite topic in the historical analysis by Professor Gottfried Dietze In Defense of Property ..... p. 53

Also reviewed in this issue is the new volume by Dr. Thomas Szasz on Law, Liberty and Psychiatry ..... p. 56

And for further details on these and other items published in The Freeman during 1963, turn to our annual index ..... p. 59

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Freeman

DECEMBER 1963 Vol. 13, No. 12

LEONARD E. READ *President,* Foundation for Economic Education

PAUL L. POIROT *Managing Editor*

THE FREEMAN is published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., a nonpolitical, nonprofit educational champion of private property, the free market, the profit and loss system, and limited government, founded in 1946, with offices at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. Any interested person may receive its publications for the asking. The costs of Foundation projects and services, including THE FREEMAN, are met through voluntary donations. Total expenses average $12.00 a year per person on the mailing list. Donations are invited in any amount—$5.00 to $10,000—as the means of maintaining and extending the Foundation's work.

Copyright, 1963, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. Printed in U.S.A.

Additional copies, postpaid, to one address: Single copy, 50 cents; 3 for $1.00; 25 or more, 20 cents each.

Permission is hereby granted to anyone to reprint any article in whole or in part, providing customary credit is given, except "The American Tradition" and "Riding a Rocking Horse."

Any current article will be supplied in reprint form if there are enough inquiries to justify the cost of the printing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT SHALL BE PROHIBITED?

LEONARD E. READ

HOW MISLED we often are when judging people by first appearances! To dramatize the fact that what meets the eye is often deceiving, imagine identical twins. They do indeed look alike, but how they can differ in other respects! One brother can be an out-and-out collectivist, statist, mercantilist, interventionist; the other an ardent believer in individual rights, free market practices, and private property observances. For reasons difficult to explain, one has a socialistic orientation while the other has a libertarian devotion.

But even these opposed designations – socialist and libertarian – do not accurately or revealingly stake out the significant differences between these two men. Such labels may have considerable emotional impact, but they do not precisely distinguish the conflicting philosophies. What *really* marks the one from the other? Is there some one characteristic that can be identified and evaluated? Yes, I believe there is. *The difference between the socialist and the libertarian thinker is a difference of opinion as to what others should be prohibited from doing.* Let's use this claim as a working hypothesis, think it through, and test its validity. If the claim proves irrefutable, then we have come upon a fairly simple method of evaluating our own or anyone else's authoritarianism or, conversely, libertarianism.[1] But first, a word about prohibitions in general.

How many animal species have

[1] Some will make the point that the authoritarian employs compulsions as well as prohibitions. My thesis is that all compulsions can be reduced to prohibitions, thus making it easier to assess authoritarianism. For instance, we say that a Russian is compelled to work in the sputnik factory. But it is more accurate to say that he is prohibited from any other employment; he builds sputniks or starves, and freely decides between the restricted choices left to him. So-called compulsions by government are, in fact, prohibitions of freedom to choose.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come and gone no one knows. Many thousands survive and the fact of their survival, whether guided by instincts or drives or conscious choices, rests, in no small measure, on the avoidance of self-destructive actions. Thus, all surviving species have, at the very minimum, abided by a set of prohibitions – things not to do; otherwise, they would have been extinct ere this.

Certain types of scorpions, for example, stick to dry land; puddles and pools are among their instinctual taboos. There is some prohibitory force that keeps fish off dry land, lambs from chasing lions, and so on and on. How insects and animals acquire their built-in prohibitions is not well understood. We label their reactions instinctual, meaning that it is not reasoned or conscious behavior.

Man Must Choose

Man, on the other hand, does not now possess a like set of instinctual do-nots – built-in prohibitions. Instead, he must enjoy or suffer the consequences of his own free will, his own power to choose between right and wrong actions; in a word, man is more or less at the mercy of his own imperfect understanding and conscious decisions. The upshot of this is that human beings must choose the prohibitions they will observe, and the selection of a wrong one may be as disastrous to our species as omitting a right one. Survival of the human species rests as much on observing the correct prohibitions as is the case with any other species.

But in our case, the *observance* of the correct must-nots has survival value only if preceded by a correct, conscious *selection* of the must-nots. When the survival of the human race is at stake and when that survival rests on the selection of prohibitions by variable, imperfect members of that race, the wonder is that the ideological controversy is not greater than now.

When Homo sapiens first appeared he had little language, no literature, no maxims, no tradition or history to which he could make reference; in short, he possessed no precise and accurate list of things not to do. We cannot explain the survival of these early specimens of our kind unless we assume that some of the instinctual prohibitions of their animal cousins remained with them during the transition period from instinct to some measure of self-knowledge for, throughout many millennia, we know nothing of man-formalized prohibitions. Then appeared the crude taboos observed by what we now call "prim-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itive peoples." These have survival value in certain conditions, even though the reasons given for the practice might not hold water.

Forms of Persuasion

If prohibitions are as important as here represented, it is well that we reflect on the man-contrived thou-shalt-nots, particularly as to the several types of persuasiveness – for there can be no prohibition worth the mention unless it is backed by some form of persuasive force. So far as this exploration is concerned, there are three forms of persuasion which make prohibitions effective or meaningful. I shall touch on the three forms in the order of their historical appearance.

The Code of Hammurabi, 2000 B.C., is probably the earliest of systematized prohibitions. This is considered one of the greatest of the ancient codes; it was particularly strong in its prohibitions against defrauding the helpless. To secure observance, the "persuasiveness" took the form of backing by organized police force. The *Columbia Encyclopedia* refers to the retributive nature of the punishment meted out as a "savage feature . . . an eye for an eye literally." Not only is this the oldest of the three forms of persuasion as a means of effectuating prohibitions, but it is today very popular and much employed all over the "civilized" world, in the U.S.A. as well as elsewhere.

The next and higher form of persuasion appeared about a millennium later – the series of thou-shalt-nots or prohibitions known as The Decalogue. Here the backing was not organized police force but, instead, the promise of retribution: initially, the hope of tribal survival if the commands were obeyed and the fear of tribal extinction were they disobeyed, and, later, the hope of heavenly bliss or the fear of hell and damnation. It may be said that The Decalogue exemplifies moral rather than political law and, also, that its form of persuasion advanced from the physical to a type of spiritual force. We witness in this evolutionary step the emergence of man's moral nature.

The latest and highest form of persuasion is that which gives effectiveness to the most advanced prohibition, The Golden Rule. As originally scribed, around 500 B.C., it read: "Do not do unto others that which you would not have them do unto you." What persuasiveness lies behind it? Not physical force. And not even such spiritual forces as hope and fear. *The force is a sense of justice,* regarded as the inmost law of one's being. That this is a recently acquired human faculty is sup-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ported by its rarity. Ever so many people will concede the soundness of this prohibition, but only now and then do we find an individual whose moral nature is elevated to the point where he can observe this discipline in daily living. Such an individual has moved beyond the concept of external rewards and punishments to the conviction that virtue and excellence are their own reward.

Development of the Moral Faculty

It is relevant to that which follows to reflect on what is meant by an elevated moral nature. To illustrate the lack of such a nature: We had a kitchen employee who pilfered, that is, she would quietly lift provisions from our larder and tote them home to her own. This practice did no offense to such moral scruples as she possessed; she was only concerned lest anyone see her indulge it; nothing was wrong except getting caught! My point is that this individual has not yet acquired what is here meant by an elevated moral nature.

What is to distinguish the individual who has an elevated moral nature? For one thing, he cares not one whit about what others see him do. Why? He has a private eye of his own, far more exacting and severe than any force or fear others can impose: a highly developed conscience. Not only does such a person possess a sense of justice but he also possesses its counterpart, a disciplinary conscience. Justice and conscience are two parts of the same emerging moral faculty. It is doubtful that one part can exist without the other.

It seems that individual man, having lost many of the built-in, instinctual do-nots of his animal cousins, acquires, as he evolves far enough, a built-in, rational, prohibitory ethic which he is compelled to observe by reason of his sense of justice and the dictates of his conscience. We repeat, proper prohibitions are just as important to the survival of the human species as to the survival of any other species.

Do not do unto others that which you would not have them do unto you. There is more to this prohibition than first glance reveals. Nearly everyone, for instance, will concede that there is no universal right to kill, to steal, or to enslave — because these practices cannot be universalized, if for no higher reason. But only the person who comprehends this ethic in its wholeness, who has an elevated sense of justice and conscience, will conclude that such a concession denies to him the right to take the life of another, to relieve any person of his livelihood,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or to deprive any human being of his liberty. And, one more distinction: While there are many who will agree that they, personally, should not kill, steal, enslave, it is only the individual with an elevated moral nature who will have no hand in encouraging any agency – even government – in doing these things for himself or for others. He clearly sees that there is no escape from individual responsibility by the popular expedient of collective action.

Citizen vs. State

Let us now return to the question this essay poses: "What shall be prohibited?" For it is the difference of opinion as to what should be denied others that highlights the essential difference between the collectivists – socialists, statists, interventionists, mercantilists – and those of the libertarian faith. Take stock of what you would prohibit others from doing and you will accurately find your own position in the ideological line-up. Or, this method can be used to determine anyone else's position.

Consider the following statement which came to my attention while writing this paper:

"Government has a positive responsibility in any just society to see to it that each and every one of its citizens acquires all the skills and all the opportunities necessary to practice and appreciate the arts to the limit of his natural ability. Enjoyment of the arts and participation in them are among man's natural rights and essential to his full development as a civilized person. One of the reasons governments are instituted among men is to make this right a reality."[2]

It is significant that the author uses the term "its citizens," the antecedent of "its" being government. Such a conception is basic to the collectivistic philosophy: *We* – you and I – *belong* to the state. Of course, if one accepts this statist premise, the above quote is sensible enough: it has to do with a detail in the state's paternalistic concern for us as its wards.

But we are on another tack, namely, examining what a person would prohibit others from doing. The writer of the above statement does not imply, at least to anyone who cannot read below the surface, any prohibitions. He dwells only on what he would have the state do *for* the people. Where, then, are the prohibitions? The program he favors would cost X hundred million dollars annually. From where come these millions? The state has nothing except that which it takes from the

[2] See *The Commonweal*, August 23, 1963, p. 494.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people. Therefore, this man favors that we be prohibited from using the fruits of our own labor as we choose in order that these fruits be expended as the state chooses. And take note of the fact that this and all other socialist-designed prohibitions have police force as the method of persuasion.[3]

Examples of Control

Socialism is the state ownership and/or control of the *results* of production. Our incomes are the results of production. That portion of our incomes is socialized which the state turns to its use by its prohibition of our use. It follows, then, that a person would impose prohibitions on the rest of us to the extent that he supports governmental projects which would socialize our income.

Only a few, as yet, favor the socialization of the arts and the consequent socialization of our incomes, but there are ever so many who favor prohibiting our freedom of choice in order to:

Pay farmers for not growing wheat and other crops;

Support socialist governments all over the world;

Put three men on the moon (estimated at $40,000,000,000);

Subsidize below-cost pricing in air, water, and land transportation, education, insurance, loans of countless kinds;

Socialize security;

Renew downtowns, build hospitals and other local facilities;

Give federal aid of this or that variety, endlessly.

We have not, however, exhausted the prohibitions that the socialists would impose upon us. For socialism is, also, the state ownership and/or control of the *means* of production. Included among the existing prohibitions are:

The planting of all of a farmer's own acreage to wheat, cotton, peanuts, corn, tobacco, rice – even to feed his own stock;

The quitting of a business at will;

The taking of a job at will;

The selling of your own product at your own price, for instance, milk, steel, and others;

The free pricing of services (wages);

The delivery of first-class mail for pay;

Again, the listing of prohibitions is endless. Harold Fleming, author of *Ten Thousand Commandments* (1951), having to do with prohibitions of just one federal agency, The Federal Trade Commission, claims that were the book brought up to date, the new title would be *Twenty Thousand Commandments.*

Those who favor the socialization of the *means* of production

[3] If anyone doubts that the U.S. brand of police force is not an eye for an eye, see "Violence As a Way of Life," *The Freeman*, February, 1962.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would, of course, prohibit profit and even the profit motive.

Which of all the prohibitions listed above and implicit in socialism do you or others favor? This is the appropriate question for rating oneself or others ideologically.

Government's Proper Role

Those people having a libertarian devotion would, it is true, impose certain prohibitions on others. They merely note that not all individuals have acquired a moral nature sufficient strictly to observe such moral laws as "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal." There are in the population those who will take the lives of others, and those who will take the livelihood of others, such as those who will pilfer and those who will get the government to do their pilfering for them. Most libertarian believers would supplement the moral laws with social laws aimed at prohibiting one from doing violence to another's person (life) or another's livelihood (extension of life).[4] Thus they would prohibit or at least penalize murder, theft, fraud, misrepresentation. In short, they would inhibit or prohibit the *destructive* actions of any and all, and that is all! Says the libertarian, "Freely choose how you act creatively, productively. I have no desire to prohibit you or others in this respect. I have no prohibitory designs on you of any kind except as you or others would keep me and others from acting creatively, productively, as we freely choose."

Be it noted that the libertarian in his hoped-for prohibition of destructive actions does no violence to anyone else's liberty, none whatsoever. The word liberty would never be used by an individual completely isolated from others; it is a social term. We must not, therefore, think of liberty as being restrained when fraud, violence, and the like are prohibited, for such actions violate the liberty of others, and liberty cannot be composed of liberty negations. This is self-evident. Thus, any accomplished libertarian would never prohibit the liberty of another.

There we have it: the socialists with the countless prohibitions of liberty they would impose on others; the libertarian aspirants whose prohibitions are not opposed to but are in support of lib-

[4] How prohibited? Unfortunately, by physical force or the threat thereof, the only form of persuasion comprehensible to those lacking a developed sense of morality and justice. Be it noted, however, that this is exclusively a *defensive* force, called into play only as a secondary action, that is, it is inactive except in the instances of initiated, *aggressive* force.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erty and are as few and as simple as the two Commandments against the taking of life and livelihood. Interestingly enough, it is the socialists, the all-out prohibitionists, who call nonintervening libertarians "extremists." Is there not a remarkable incongruity between reality and casual appearance, between what careful scrutiny reveals and an emotional outburst?

Finally, libertarians, like the socialists, do not believe the human situation to be in apple pie order; imperfection is rampant. The libertarian, however, observing that human imperfection is universal, balks at halting the evolutionary process which is the ultimate prohibition implicit in all authoritarian schemes. Be the political dandy a Napoleon or Tito or one of the home grown variety of prohibitionist, how can the human situation improve if the rest of us are not permitted to grow beyond the level of the political dandy's imperfections? Is nothing better in store for humanity than this?

The libertarian's answer is affirmative: There is something better. But the improvement must take the form of man's growth, emergence, hatching – the acquisition of higher faculties such as an improved sense of justice, a refined, exacting, self-disciplinary conscience, in brief, an elevated moral nature. Man-concocted prohibitions against this growth stifle or kill it. Human faculties can flower, man can move toward his creative destiny, only if he be free to do so, in a word, where liberty prevails.

What should be prohibited? *Actions which impair liberty!* ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Self-Government with Union

THE RIGHTS of the Colonists as Christians . . . may be best understood by reading and carefully studying the institutes of the great Law Giver and Head of the Christian Church, which are to be found clearly written and promulgated in the New Testament . . . a commonwealth or state is a body politic, or civil society of men, united together to promote their mutual safety and prosperity by means of their union . . . no man, or body of men, consistently with their own rights as men and citizens, or members of society, can for themselves give up or take away from others.

SAMUEL ADAMS, *The Rights of the Colonists*, Boston, 1772

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO ATTRACT *Capital*

WALTER B. WRISTON

THE DEVELOPMENT of a country requires the investment of large sums of money. Where this money comes from and the manner in which it is spent are critical problems which go far beyond economic theory and are likely to have an impact on the political future of the world.

Many years ago Mr. Thomas Braniff at the inaugural flight of the Braniff Airways into Buenos Aires, had an interview with the then dictator of the Argentine, Juan Perón, who inquired of him how to attract private capital. Mr. Braniff replied that it was a very simple thing. "Capital goes where it is wanted and it stays where it is well treated." Nobody has ever said it better. It is true of all capital, both foreign and domestic, for domestic capital flees from the same conditions which repel foreign capital.

The number one condition for the retention of local capital and the attraction of foreign capital is a relatively stable currency. If the currency of your country is depreciating at the rate of 20 to 40 per cent a year, there is not much point in saving your money as all that will happen is that you will watch the reward of your labor wiped out by rising prices. People who work hard and acquire capital quite naturally want to invest it in something to conserve the fruit of their labor, to take care of their old age, and to pass on to their children. It is, therefore, perfect nonsense to talk about stopping the flight of capital, much less attracting foreign capital in an atmosphere of runaway inflation. Money runs downhill toward the happiest blend of high reward and safety, and nobody has ever found a way to make it run uphill for more than a very limited period of time, even through a series of highly technical and questionable gimmicks.

The second basic requirement for the attraction of capital is some reasonable expectation that the rules of the game will not be

---

Mr. Wriston is Executive Vice-President of the First National City Bank of New York. This article is condensed from his address given at the Bank's Customers Overseas Conference, May, 1963.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

changed with any great frequency. Private capital can adapt itself to most rules, provided always that the expectation exists that the game will be played by those rules over a period of time. It is for this same reason that private capital is frightened away by direct economic controls. While the private investor willingly accepts the risks of the free market place, he almost inevitably shies away from situations where arbitrary decisions by government administrators can make or break his business.

Third, through curious mental processes which are unknown to me, some countries proceed to nationalize all the subsidiaries of foreign companies without fair or adequate compensation, and then express amazement that there is no capital inflow from foreign sources and, in fact, large capital outflows from their own people. Respect for property rights is a fundamental prerequisite for private investments whether foreign or domestic.

There is no real shortage of capital in the world, and I do not know of any major project which has been held up solely because of the lack of money. Capital is plentiful wherever it is "wanted and well treated." The real bottleneck in the development of the world is the shortage of human capital: people with the skill, training, and education intelligently to employ the world's resources.

The facts are that when political freedom and free enterprise spread, markets increase, and that the expansion of markets is only prevented through political motivation. The interest of American business in the expansion of a free enterprise system around the world as part of a free political system is based not only upon moral considerations, but on the hard fact that there is no market for consumer goods among slaves. The problem is not one of division whereby the static resources of a country will be reallocated by some planner's program, but it is a problem of addition and multiplication whereby we must set our minds to increase the production forces and to broaden the areas of freedom and trade. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Private Property

WHERE there is no property right, human beings are invariably kicked around — by the politicians, as in Soviet Russia; by the military, as in any War Lord System; or by a priestcraft, as in Peru of the Incas.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, *The Roots of Capitalism*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN TRADITION

9. *Of Internationalism*

CLARENCE B. CARSON

THE NOTION is widely prevalent that the United States followed isolationist policies in the nineteenth century. Students assert this "fact" with the kind of assurance that would stem from indoctrination. But a statement such as that the United States was isolationist in the nineteenth century is not even in the nature of a fact. It is an historical judgment, a judgment which would have to subsume a great many facts in order to be valid. Actually, "isolationist" is generally used as invective to denounce those who disagree with the policies which have been adopted by the United States since World War II — though the outline of these policies began to emerge some years before that. It is a key word in a language of argumentation, not a descriptive word.

In like manner, many assume that the trend of twentieth century American policies has been toward internationalism. Moreover, according to the prevailing ethos it is good to be an "internationalist," and it is bad to be an "isolationist." An "internationalist," judging by those who claim the title and the actions they promote, is one who favors reciprocal trade agreements, foreign aid, permanent alliances, involvement in the domestic affairs of other nations, government - to - govern - ment loans, managed domestic currencies, cultural exchanges under the auspices of government, and international monetary funds.

Dr. Carson is Professor of American History at Grove City College, Pennsylvania.
Illustration: National Archives.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is often assumed, too, that those who support these programs are men of good will, while those who oppose them are at best misguided and at worst malevolent.

There should be no doubt that American foreign policy has changed in the twentieth century from what it was in the nineteenth. On this point, there appears to be general agreement. But changed from what to what is the question. How should the two different policies be described? More broadly, what was the American tradition regarding relations with other nations? Was the United States cut off from the rest of the world in the nineteenth century? Was the general tendency of the policy narrow, provincial, selfish, and inconsiderate? Have we broken out of our cocoon in the twentieth century to take up our rightful place in the world?

These are not questions which should be answered by the use of invective. They are historical questions which should be settled by a review of the evidence.

A Cosmopolitan View

The first statement to be made on the basis of the record can be made categorically: *these United States were not isolated in the nineteenth century, nor did they follow isolationist policies.* On the contrary, among the early acts of the Second Continental Congress was to send representatives abroad. The Congress under the Articles of Confederation attempted to establish relations on a regular basis with as many countries as possible. The government established under the Constitution of 1787 attempted to operate in an international scene that was, to use a word commonly employed at the time, calamitous. For most of the first 25 years of the new Republic, Europe was disturbed and disjointed by the events surrounding and following upon the French Revolution. Nevertheless, the United States carried on diplomatic and trade relations with most countries most of the time and tried to use the influence of example to maintain sanity in a world where it appeared to be in short supply. The ideas of the Enlightenment, which informed the thought of the Founders, were cosmopolitan. Americans early wished the United States to become a nation among nations; the efforts of political leaders were usually bent toward accomplishing this objective.

These statements should not be misunderstood, however: the American tradition of foreign relations was not internationalist as that term is *now* used. It *was* internationalist within the framework of the nineteenth century.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To appreciate this, it will be helpful to look for and to try to recall the principles upon which American foreign policy was usually based. These can be approached by studying some of the important statements that were made by Presidents. George Washington's advice on foreign affairs in his Farewell Address is both the most famous of these and the most important for the formation of the tradition. It is worth quoting at length, because it became a guide for foreign policy makers through much of our history.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. . . .

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. . . .

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country. . . .

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lieve me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided. . . .

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. . . .

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse . . .; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.[1]

Washington's Views Upheld

These words of Washington's became (or were) a part of the consciousness of others, for those who came later to seats of power reiterated them. President John Adams resolved "to do justice as far as may depend upon me, at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship, and benevolence with all the world."[2] He said further, "It is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you [the Congress] and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations. . . . If we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them. . . ; and equal meas-

[1] James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* I (Washington Printing Office, 1896), 221-23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ures of justice we have a right to expect from France and every other nation."[3] To which the Senate replied, "Peace and harmony with all nations is our sincere wish; but such being the lot of humanity that nations will not always reciprocate peaceable dispositions, it is our firm belief that effectual measures of defense will tend to inspire that national self-respect and confidence at *home* which is the unfailing source of respectability *abroad,* to check aggression and prevent war."[4]

Thomas Jefferson, with his usual felicity, states the particular application of these general principles as he explains how the United States as a neutral nation should behave toward belligerents:

> In the course of this conflict let it be our endeavor, as it is our interest and desire, to cultivate the friendship of the belligerent nations by every act of justice and of innocent kindness; to receive their armed vessels with hospitality from the distresses of the sea, but to administer the means of annoyance to none; to establish in our harbors such a police as may maintain law and order; to restrain our citizens from embarking individually in a war in which their country takes no part . . . ; to exact from every nation the observance toward our vessels and citizens of those principles and practices which all civilized people acknowledge; to merit the character of a just nation, and maintain that of an independent one, preferring every consequence to insult and habitual wrong.[5]

In more general terms, he declared himself in favor of "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."[6] There are overtones of Adam Smith in this phrase: "to those who justly calculate that their own well-being is advanced by that of the nations with which they have intercourse. . . ."[7]

One more statement from an early President should indicate a general concurrence in some general principles. This is from the Monroe Doctrine:

> Our policy in regard to Europe... remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.[8]

From these primary policy pro-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 361.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 323.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[8] Henry S. Commager, ed., *Documents of American History,* I (New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, 1963, 7th ed.), 236-37.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nouncements some general principles emerge. They can be reduced to a few heads and stated as imperatives in the following manner:

The United States *should*

1. Establish and maintain a position of independence with regard to other countries.

2. Avoid *political* connection, involvement, or intervention in the affairs of other countries.

3. Make no permanent or entangling alliances.

4. Treat all nations impartially, neither granting nor accepting special privileges from any.

5. Promote commerce with all peoples and countries.

6. Cooperate with other countries to develop civilized rules of intercourse.

7. Act always in accordance with the "laws of nations."

8. Remedy all just claims of injury to other nations, and require just treatment from other nations, standing ready, if necessary to punish offenders.

9. Maintain a defensive force of sufficient magnitude to deter aggressors.

Were Principles Practiced?

The question arises at this point as to whether the statements quoted earlier are anything more than idealistic pronouncements, piously proclaimed. In our times, we are all too familiar with the protective coloration of rhetoric under which politicians and nations conceal their thrust to power. These words must be tested by the actions which followed them. Moreover, the American tradition must be discovered in the customs and practices, not in the ideas.

Did the American tradition conform to the above principles? In answering this question, it should be clear that I am not ascribing an invariable rectitude to American behavior. Americans have probably been no more nearly perfect than have any other peoples. Furthermore, they lived in a world where other nations were not perfect either. Nevertheless, for the first 109 years of the existence of the Republic Americans developed and maintained a tradition that was in keeping with the above principles. During the early years, when Europe was embroiled in a succession of wars, vigorous efforts were made to steer clear of foreign entanglements. The United States adopted a neutral position, attempted to maintain friendly relations with all the countries, and steadfastly clung to independence. Jefferson went so far in his efforts to maintain peace at one point that he invoked an embargo on American shipping. (For a period of a couple of years the United States *was* isolated, technically, from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most of the rest of the world.)

For the whole of the nineteenth century the United States made no permanent or entangling alliances. Generally speaking, intercourse was promoted and advanced with all countries. Goods entered America from around the world with only minor duties upon them until well past the mid-nineteenth century. Export duties were prohibited by the Constitution. People could enter America freely for most of the nineteenth century; immigrants were welcome, and naturalization was easy. Cultural exchanges took place regularly, under the protection but not the auspices of the government. The United States cooperated with other countries to open trade with Asiatic countries.[9]

No single instance comes to mind of interference in the internal affairs of another country during the first hundred years of the Republic. There were, of course, boundary disputes, and there was the expansionist war with Mexico, and the latter may well have been a departure from principle. The Monroe Doctrine did not claim for the United States the right to intervene in any country's internal affairs. It proposed rather to prevent further European colonizing in America. The Monroe Doctrine was a unilateral undertaking which did not commit America to the policy determination of other powers. In short, American independence was iterated and preserved by it.

We can say with confidence that the United States established a tradition of foreign relations in keeping with the principles laid down by the Founding Fathers. The diplomatic history of the nineteenth century is filled with examples of treaties of amity and commerce with other powers, with cooperative efforts to establish rules of intercourse, with the sending and receiving of ministers and ambassadors, with the opening of trade and commerce with distant powers, and with negotiations to settle peacefully real or imagined injuries which citizens of one country had done to those of another.

Western Internationalism

It follows that the United States was neither alone nor acting alone in the world. The American tradition blended with and was a part of the Western tradition of international relations. This greater tradition embraced numerous means for facilitating and maintaining harmony among nations, such means as treaties, congresses, ambassadors exchanged be-

[9] See Dorothy B. Goebel, ed., *American Foreign Policy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 108.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tween countries, respect for the nationals of one country in another, and so on. However, at the time of the birth of the Republic respect for the tradition was in a sorry state. European countries had been embroiled in a series of "world wars" in the eighteenth century, involving the land and naval powers of the world. These appear to have culminated in the cataclysmic struggles which we associate with the French Revolution and the era of Napoleon. These latter developments signify a huge assault upon the corpus of traditions by which Europeans lived. It was a vital question whether any tradition could survive the onslaught.

Yet much of the diplomatic tradition did survive the holocaust; the zeal of the French revolutionaries succumbed to the guillotine; Napoleon was made an unemployed despot. Britain outlasted France; tradition triumphed over ideology. But the England that emerged victorious in 1815 was not the England that had gone to war in the 1790's. England made great headway in industrialization in the intervening years. Men and ideas were having an impact also. The political ideas of John Locke, the economic ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the conception of continuity with the past advanced by Edmund Burke combined to buttress tradition, to revitalize the inheritance from the past, and to give a new, and liberal, direction to the future. Order was restored to Europe, trade commenced to heal the wounds of martial enmity, and some measure of decency and justice began to characterize the relations among nations. By the mid-nineteenth century Britain had become a momentous influence in the world for peaceful harmonious relations and free trade.

The Golden Age of Western Civilization, 1815-1914

It is common nowadays to find the period from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the onset of World War I (1914) referred to as the Golden Age of Western Civilization. The reason for this characterization is not far to seek. Wars were few, brief, and limited. When the peace was threatened, a concert of powers usually met in a congress to avert war. Private property was usually respected, and the boundaries of nations usually enjoyed the protection which stemmed from this respect. The barriers to trade, travel, and intercourse were falling. Country after country adopted or revitalized representative government, and the rights of civilized men enjoyed the defense

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a vigilant press and the protection of far-flung navies.

Some despotisms remained, sorry and largely ineffectual relics of the past. In these circumstances, "there emerged a multiplicity of international organizations. All the 'civilized' nations of the world joined the Red Cross society . . . . Thirty formed a Universal Telegraph Union (1875). Twenty-three agreed to make common use of the metric system . . . (1875). Sixty adhered to a Universal Postal Union, created in 1878 . . . . Nineteen ratified a convention of 1883 for the standardization of patent laws. Fifteen signed another convention of 1887 providing for practically uniform copyright laws."[10] It is worth pointing out that these developments took place within what propagandists are now apt to call "international anarchy."

Nations, Liberty, Trade

If the nineteenth century was a Golden Age, and it certainly was in relations among nations at the least, what made it so? First, a system of nations existed in the world. These nations were jealous of their independence of one another but were equally devoted to the maintenance of the general sanctity of the nation-state, its established boundaries and perquisites. Second, within these nations there was a mounting devotion to liberty and opposition to state tyranny. Demands arose from every quarter for changes in this direction. As one historian says, "In one country precedence was given to liberation from a foreign domination or to national unity, and in another to the change from absolutism in government to constitutionalism. Here it was simply a question of reform of the franchise . . . , while there it was a question of establishing a representative system. . . . And over all of them [these demands] rose one word that summed them all up and expressed the spirit which had given them life – the word *liberty*."[11] Third, leading nations, particularly Great Britain and the United States, worked to open up the world to trade, commerce, and intercourse. In the circumstances that resulted, gold became the medium of exchange. Goods could be readily exchanged around the world, and prices and production were determined by "the workings of private markets. . . . Likewise, the task of distrib-

[10] Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Contemporary Europe since* 1870 (New York: Macmillan, 1958, rev. ed.), p. 307.

[11] Benedetto Croce, *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, Henry Furst, trans. (New York: A Harbinger Book, 1963), pp. 4-5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uting the gains from trade and the opportunities for growth among national economies was substantially left to the world market. . . ."[12] To put the matter another way, politics and economics were kept at a decent distance from one another in important affairs.

In more general terms, a scholar has described the workings of this order:

> What first strikes us in considering this order is the respect it enjoyed, which is only accentuated by the bad conscience or apologetics accompanying cases of infringement, which made it possible for international law to be regarded as a genuine law . . .; for the world to be united through a network of long-term agreements which therefore made for the stabilization of international relationships; for tensions between large and small states to be continually adjusted – the unjustly suspected "balance of power" – and for a high degree of agreement to exist regarding legal conceptions and national standards of justice.[13]

The consequences of this order ought to be well known: peace, and a mounting and spreading prosperity. The order was invigorated by regulated competition, ordered by some common conceptions of justice, vitalized by its consonance with liberty, and dependent upon the determined independence of nations and the balance of power among them.

U.S. Influence on World Trade

What was the relation of the United States to this order? As I suggested initially, the American tradition of foreign relations was an integral part of the Western tradition. From the outset, the United States participated heartily in the diplomatic, commercial, and cultural customs and practices which make up that tradition. There is more to it than that, however. The thought will not down that the United States contributed much to the salvage of the remains of the tradition in the early nineteenth century and to the development of a more vital one later in the century. The point is difficult to prove because if influence be conceived only in terms of power, it must be admitted that the United States was not a world power to be reckoned with in the early nineteenth century.

But is the thrust of power always more influential than that of example without the benefit of physical force? It is not clear that it is. Let it be noted that

[12] William Y. Elliott, et. al., *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Holt, 1955), p. 9.

[13] Wilhelm Röpke, *International Order and Economic Integration* (Dordrecht-Holland: Reidel, 1959), pp. 74-75.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

during the time of Europe's madness (1790's-1815) America remained an island of sanity, trying to maintain a neutral position, insisting upon the respect for the rights of neutrals, holding to the concept of the laws of nations, attempting to establish peaceful intercourse with the rest of the world. Nor should it be forgotten that in the wake of the French debacle few responsible Europeans believed that republican governments could be moderate in their actions and stable in their course. The behavior of the United States reversed that judgment in the course of the century, as more and more countries turned to constitutional republics. Moreover, the central principles governing relations among nations which were the guidelines of statesmen during the Golden Age were the same ones advocated by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Monroe. However, I ascribe not originality but the influence of example to the Americans.

It Was Internationalist

At any rate, one of the questions posed at the beginning of this article can now be answered. That is, how should American foreign policy in the nineteenth century be characterized? An unequivocal answer can be given: IT WAS INTERNATIONALIST. Thus, the American tradition was one of internationalism, within a framework of a Western tradition of internationalism. It envisioned the existence of independent nations which would carry on a great variety of relations with one another according to established rules. This system permitted a rich diversity of practice, custom, and law within countries, in keeping with their desires and traditions, while encouraging a uniformity of practice in matters that would facilitate peaceful intercourse. Internationalism on the negative side can be called NON-INTERVENTIONISM. This, too, was at the heart of the American tradition.

A Significant Departure

There can be no doubt that the United States has departed from the earlier tradition in the twentieth century, a departure that was preceded, accompanied, or followed by many other countries around the world. Indeed, the initial departure was so abrupt that it can be fixed with near certainty. The year was 1898, the occasion the Spanish-American War, the outcome overseas expansion and the acquisition of empire.

But there were developments which prepared the way for this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

departure. The most notable of these was the establishment of a policy of protectionism. The United States, of course, had tariffs from the beginning. At first, they were conceived as revenue measures. But from 1816 on they were frequently advocated and adopted as protective measures. Even so, until the 1860's they were very limited in their coverage, adopted as temporary expedients to protect infant industries, and vigorously opposed by a considerable portion of the politicians, and presumably the electorate, of the country. Still, the matter should not be glossed over. There were overtones of economic nationalism in Henry Clay's American System, set forth in the 1820's. Nationalism can be and has been used to undermine internationalism. The royal road to this development has been the protective tariff. It intertwines politics and economics, supports the notion that the economic well-being of a nation is opposed to that of others, and promotes discord and jealousies. More, it sets the stage for national expansion and imperialism.[14]

Neomercantilism

This last point deserves some elaboration. Critics of private capitalism have ascribed imperialism to capitalistic industrialization. It is true that industrialization requires markets and raw materials, facts which have been offered as the basis of an economic explanation adduced for colonialism and imperialism. The internationalism of the nineteenth century, however, afforded the opportunity for markets and materials without imperialism. Free trade was the acceptable means to this end. But in the latter part of the nineteenth century many nations began erecting trade barriers by adopting ever higher tariffs. As one historian aptly describes this development, "the *laissez-faire* principle which had been regarded as a natural and ideal accompaniment of industrial progress in Europe during the era from 1830 to 1870 was replaced to a large extent during the era from 1870 to 1910 by neomercantilism, by governmental attempts to treat industry and agriculture, commerce and labor, as 'national interests.' "[15]

The effect was to close off markets and materials from the general trade of nations, and for a single nation to attempt to monopolize whole areas. (It is worth noting also that these practices tended to promote domestic monopolies as well.) As protectionism shut off access to markets and

[14] See *Ibid.*, parts 1-2.

[15] Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

materials, nations moved to acquire their own exclusive sources. Hence, the surge of imperialism, the carving up of choice areas of the world into spheres of influence, the territorial expansion which culminated in the first great cataclysm of the twentieth century – World War I. Much else was involved in these developments, of course. For example, the idea of survival of the fittest, borrowed from Darwinism and applied to nations, played a part. But the protective tariff can be usefully conceived as the forbidden fruit in the nineteenth century Garden of Eden.

For the United States, the acquisition of Spanish colonies in consequence of the Spanish-American War can be understood, then, as a logical culmination of protectionist policies which had been established from the Civil War onward. Having departed the American tradition by intervening in the affairs of Spain, the United States speedily became embroiled in all sorts of foreign undertakings and adventures. Two years after the Spanish-American War the Marines were helping to put down rebellion in far-off China. By the end of Theodore Roosevelt's nearly two terms in the presidency much of the remainder of the American tradition of internationalism was in shambles. There was the sorry episode by which the Canal Zone was leased from the bogusly created Republic of Panama. This was followed by the proclamation of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, by which the United States claimed the "right" to intervene in other American countries, given certain conditions. Matching words with deeds, Marines and customs agents began putting in appearances in various Caribbean ports. Woodrow Wilson talked of reversing many of these trends, but some of his policies succeeded in getting the United States more embroiled in world affairs.

Collectivist Ideas Growing

Much more was involved by this time in the departure from the American tradition than economic nationalism. Collectivist ideas had become a part of the intellectual equipment of many intellectuals, and they were spreading a new conception of reality and of internationalism. Karl Marx was certainly the fountainhead of a new "school of internationalism," and socialists in general were billing themselves as the "true" internationalists. This is one of the great ironies of history. On the one hand, socialists have vehemently denounced nationalism. On the other hand, wherever they have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come to power, or begun to come to power, they have thrown up "iron curtains" around the nation, and put all sorts of obstacles in the way of intercourse.

All of this is very confusing, but it has an explanation. Socialists proceed toward their goal, or they imagine that they do, by way of a planned economy. In order to plan the economy they have to control all the factors involved in it. They cannot have free intercourse of people, goods, or ideas, for any of these would introduce unknowns that could not be controlled. They cannot permit their effort to be subjected to a world market. But the existence of independent countries threatens their existence, or so they think quite often. There is always the invidious comparison with other countries, for socialist experiments have resulted in miserable failures. Besides, they need the materials if not the markets (for they have trouble supplying their own markets) in the rest of the world. The only possibility for achieving this is by the creation of a world socialist state. All independent nations would be gone. Then, socialism would work, or, if it did not, there would be nothing left with which to compare it, to prove that socialism was not the "wave of the future." Lest some think that history would pose a problem, it should be pointed out that history has largely been rewritten in the twentieth century to accord more or less with the socialist vision. Brainwashing (or "psychiatric treatment") should take care of the rest.

Abandonment of Principles

What has all of this to do with the United States? Let us note the general outlines of the course of developments in the twentieth century, and we shall see. American leaders have discarded one by one, or in bunches, the principles of the Founders upon which the American tradition of internationalism was based. They yielded up a portion of independence by joining the United Nations. The United States has intervened in, become involved with, and has her destiny connected with other countries by way of the sending of armies, the giving of foreign aid, and by mutual assistance policies. We have made permanent and entangling alliances, beginning with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We seek special trade privileges by way of reciprocal trade agreements. The United States supports some foreign governments and opposes others, not on principle quite often but for expedient reasons. Even those few principles which have not been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discarded – such as, to cooperate with other countries to develop civilized rules of intercourse – are being pursued in dubious ways. The United States left the gold standard, so far as Americans are concerned, in the 1930's, has long ago thrown up formidable barriers to immigration, and has to a considerable extent substituted government-to-government loans in place of the activities of private lenders.

Nationalism and the Welfare State

The major characteristics of our policies in the twentieth century have been economic nationalism (particularly in the 1930's), interventionism, and the turning to collective security. At home, we have established what is commonly called the welfare state; abroad, we are following policies antithetical to our own independence and that of other countries.

Enough has been said now to choose a word to characterize our policies. I nominate INTERVENTIONISM. "Internationalism" and "isolationism" as they are now usually employed are propagandic appellations for advancing intervention, whether knowingly so used or not. The American tradition was one of internationalism. We are now devoted to a course which will eventuate in a world state, chaos, or both, if it is not reversed. A world welfare state would be nearly as close to socialism as most "moderates" would now wish. Anyone who doubts any of these propositions should restudy the history of the last forty years and review current proposals being advanced by world leaders and advocated by intellectuals.

But is the older American tradition a viable alternative to the current course? Who can say with certainty? Conditions have changed somewhat. Not as much as some imagine, however. Communism is a menace today on a scale which I would not minimize. But this Republic was born amidst turmoil that would equal that of our day. Washington's Farewell Address was delivered shortly after the terror had swept over France. Jefferson took his position when Napoleon was at the height of his power.

Advocates of Collective Security

Think what a field day the advocates of collective security would have had advising Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. They could have argued, with much force, that the United States was too feeble to go it alone. It was "necessary" to get the protection of one of the great powers, to align themselves with one or the other contending groups. In-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dependence is all well and good, but it would have to wait until fairer times.

Let it be noted that this was not the course followed. Despite the temptations to follow such a course, the United States followed a resolutely independent course, even to the fighting of an "independent" war against Great Britain, disdaining allies (the War of 1812). They must have known what we have forgotten, that independence yielded up for expedient reasons is hardly recovered. We know something of the consequences of the American tradition of internationalism; we are fearful of the end product of interventionism. But it is for the historian to tell the story, not to determine the course. ◈

- *The next article in this series will treat "Of Civilizing of Groups."*

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Opportunity

EVERY YOUNG MAN should understand that he is being watched by many eyes, and often when he least expects it.

Scouts, the baseball word for men who search out promising material for the professional leagues, are everywhere.

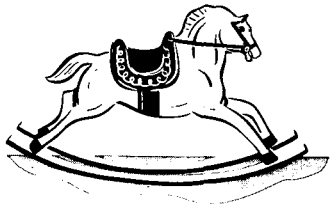
Old men and middle-aged men, bankers and lawyers, manufacturers and merchants, editors and publishers hold this thought uppermost in their minds at all times: Where can I find young men with the right stuff in them, the right habits, the right temper, the right balance? These veterans have money that needs watching, that must be put to work. They control enterprises that are floundering, and need the energy of youth in the management.

Let a young man demonstrate that he has the qualities required for success in modern enterprise, and someone will make him an offer if he exposes himself to opportunity.

Only those who are compelled to depend upon others for the execution of their plans and dreams can ever know how persistent and relentless is the search for youth of high spirit and capacity. It is going on day and night. At many times in our life we all come under the appraising eye of a scout.

WILLIAM FEATHER, *The William Feather Magazine*, August, 1963

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PRODDED by a bombardment of clever television commerials, we recently decided to buy a rocking horse for the toddler visiting our house. The one that caught our eye bore the brand name of a leading toy producer; it was beautifully designed and could whinny and ask for hay. The suggested retail price was about $45 — as our rocking horse might say, that ain't hay.

But a check of several stores disclosed that the highest price actually quoted was $34.95. We finally bought it at a discount house for $27.95.

Hardly an unusual experience. And we are sure that the millions of other Americans who do this sort of thing every day feel that their bargain-hunting and price-comparing is not only proper but prudent, as well as good for the national economy.

A number of gentlemen in Congress, however, want to change all that. Surprising though it may seem, it is quite possible that the "quality stabilization" legislation now in the works may get enacted. Under that fancy label, the owner of a brand name would be able to enjoin a price cutter from advertising his product below the price which the brand owner specifies.

Now why would anyone want to do that? Mainly the drive is sparked by small manufacturers and retailers who object to price cutting. Certainly some of them do face formidable competition from discount houses and regular stores that also discount. Unfortunately, "quality stabilization" is no answer to their problem.

If prices really could be pegged at a certain level, it would disarm

From *The Wall Street Journal*, August 16, 1963.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the discounters for a time. But it would give the independent at best a short-term advantage, and we could expect to see the discount houses meet this challenge with brands of their own which a discerning public would quickly snap up.

In fact, any form of price-fixing – the true name for this sort of legislation – raises more questions than it answers. As the OPA showed during World War II and Diocletian found in ancient Rome, it simply defies administration. People are capable of considerable agility in getting around rules that violate common sense and normal instincts.

Even the manufacturers themselves, whatever their public pronouncements, don't demonstrate much confidence in pegged prices. For brand owners' products could hardly arrive on the shelves of discount houses without their tacit consent. The volume of discount business is just too great to forfeit.

For these reasons, similar "fair trade" legislation (wonderful the euphemisms these people dream up) has been repudiated in the market place, overturned in the courts, and abandoned by various state governments. The new effort is testimony that the would-be price-fixers don't give up easily.

Apart from the impracticality, what can be said of the quality of the thinking of quality stabilization's backers? Are they not trying to wreck the very market place in which they and most of their customers have to earn their living?

Are they not asking for a privilege which would amount to an indirect subsidy? Forcing their customers to pay higher prices than would otherwise be asked? Adding their own weight to that philosophy which would force the hand of government into every act of exchange?

The best that can be said for such legislation is that it fosters a temporary delusion of protection. The worst is that it seeks the "stability" of stagnation through the discredited mechanism of government controls.

Meanwhile, the young rider looks pert in the saddle of his articulate rocking horse. What makes the two of them especially authentic is the little cowboy hat and jacket we bought to go with the horse. We were, of course, able to do that with the $7 we saved in today's unstable markets.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Consumer Protection and Freedom of Choice

ROLAND B. SMITH

In any well-organized society government can be expected to have considerable influence over the conduct of business, if only as a referee. However, under the influence of those who see in government control a panacea for most of our social and economic ills, the social control of business and its side-effects on consumption gravely threaten not only a democratic way of life, but possibly our national existence.

STUDENTS of social control of business have tended to emphasize the need for controls, referring to the dishonesty and deceit by business and the consequent injury to consumers. The general theses have been to justify the existence of controls, to argue for more control, or both. Little attention has been given the problems such legislation has created for the consumer whose freedom of choice has been thereby limited.

Organization is preferable to anarchy, of course; and organization implies objectives and a program for achieving them. Some rules, enabling and limiting, have their place in a free exchange system. Indeed, we must recognize with Lewis Schneider that "freedom of the market . . . is not a self-causing phenomenon. It has certainly not persisted everywhere and at all times and, to exist, it requires social, or extra-economic support."[1]

As our culture has matured, some conflicts have appeared between desired social values and some economic values. We can reasonably assume that the steps taken to resolve these conflicts

[1] Lewis Schneider, M. B. Oga, Jay W. Wiley, *Power Order and the Economy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), p. 652.

Dr. Smith is Professor of Advertising at the University of Connecticut.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through regulation have been intended to modify or limit economic activities without changing essentially their ends. "Just as we regulate football playing without changing the rough and vigorous struggle among the players . . . so we may do with business. We can regulate competition to a great extent, without depriving it of its essential quality or effectiveness as a democratic process. . . ."[2]

Change of Emphasis

This may have been the intent, but the philosophy of supervision and control has gone beyond this. It has moved from protecting the public's life and health to protecting, in the words of a Connecticut statute, "the purchasing public from injury by merchandising deceit." Underlying this philosophy is the intent to include not so much what consumers may want, but what may be considered good for them. More specifically, the principles which appear to have guided the formulation of many controls and the manner of their enforcement seem aimed at achieving what consumers should want or what they would want were they as intelligent, as intellectually capable and prepared, and as socially oriented, farsighted, and as well-intentioned as those behind the programs.

Legislation in behalf of the public is seldom engendered by the public. "A law is always the active work of a minority, with the cooperation of a majority of a supposedly representative body who may be barely willing to vote for it."[3] Herein lies the problem. It arises from the difference between the viewpoints of those who work for the law and most of those who will be affected by it. The consumer mass market does not think as does the minority; it does not have the same objectives in life, it does not want the same kind of goods (and only partly because the mass market buyer cannot afford them, because often he can); this market does not make its buying appraisals in the same way. Competition being the directive force in a democratic economy, "the competitors necessarily have to put such goods and services on the market as consumers want."[4] The result is conflict.

Some of this conflict is unavoidable. Legislation has often been used to meet emergencies affecting large numbers of persons,

[2] Lewis H. Haney, *Value and Distribution* (New York: D. Appleton, Century Company, Inc., 1939), p. 208.

[3] J. M. Clark, *Social Control of Business* (*New York*: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), p. 10.

[4] Haney, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emergencies whose consequences could be severe and irrevocable and for whose control the evolutionary processes of popular education and subsequent acceptance are too time consuming. It is also true that the enactment and enforcement of various laws have speeded materially social progress toward some desirable objective.

Dangerous Results

But whatever the advantages of this approach, there are also several dangers. First, such legislation while perhaps achieving the objective may entail consequences unforeseen and more to be shunned than the original problem, e.g., prohibition. As Bacon once wrote: "The remedy is worse than the disease." Even J. M. Clark concedes that "the machinery of government cannot be trusted to pick out unerringly the true needs of the community as a whole . . ." adding, "it is hard to frame regulations without hampering some perfectly legitimate and useful kinds of private dealings or encountering unexpected and insuperable obstacles. . . ."[5]

The second danger, voiced 99 years ago by John Stuart Mill,[6] is that "impatient reformers, thinking it easier and shorter to get possession of the government than of the intellect and disposition of the public, are under the constant temptation to stretch the province of government beyond due bounds. . . ."

A third danger is that there *is no known boundary!* How far can protective legislation be carried before the whole program bogs down under overwhelming costs, haphazard or discriminatory enforcement, or before our democratic system is irrevocably lost?

Finally, we may note a fourth danger, that of seducing the consumer into such a false sense of security and dependence as to deprive him of any normal sense of responsibility and self-reliance as we know it. How long can a nation of such dependents survive in a world of survival of the fittest? This is the problem stated.

Long-Run Implications

There is a need for a basic philosophy oriented not to expediency, nor even to what some well-intentioned minority may deem desirable, but to the public disposition (or only a little above it). On this foundation an over-all plan for social and economic reform may be developed and by which proposed legislation may be evaluated and the long-run im-

[5] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[6] *Principles of Political Economy* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1864), II, 385.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plications of such legislation may be considered as they may impinge on people living within our economic and social framework. To do less is to continue the conflict, and to continue drifting without course, pushed one way and then another by the pressures of current circumstance and of individuals and groups whose vision may extend only a little beyond the anticipated immediate effects of a proposed law.

If a social philosophy is to be oriented to the public disposition, attention is due what American consumers want from life. These objectives are difficult to learn directly from the people themselves since most appear to have only a vague idea of what they seek and are still less definite in their verbalization of it. However, their behavior suggests some fundamental wants: a so-called full, free life; a life of international peace, of material abundance, freedom to choose among a wide variety of product offerings and varied diversions, a maximum of opportunity to "get ahead," means for publicly expressing their success, and all with a minimum of worry and drudgery.

Studies of social class values[7] have provided useful clues to consumer objectives. The social system in the United States being an open system provides unusual opportunities for people to move upward from one class to another. This puts considerable emphasis on status and the adoption of those values appropriate to it. "What a woman buys to furnish her house and clothe her family," reports Warner, "is highly controlled by her social class values. Keeping up with the Joneses and proving, 'I'm just as good as anybody else,' . . . are grim expressions of the serious life of most American families. Products are not only items of utility for those who buy but powerful symbols of status and social class."[8]

Status Symbols

This mobility opens the door for expression of self-esteem through the adoption of manners and the consumption of goods which identify one with the social class to which one belongs, and more important, with the social class to which one aspires. This kind of consumption behavior imparts to products various attributes apart

[7] W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); W. Lloyd Warner, Paul S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community*, Vol. 11, "Yankee City Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

[8] Warner and others, *op. cit.*, pp. vi-vii.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from mere physical characteristics and utilitarian values.

What consumers want consists not so much of what will last longest and certainly not that which is the least expensive. They want goods which bear the stamp of approval by their group. "We feel the need to have the same things that other people in our group have or need."[9] It is clear that by comparison with the demands of social custom or standards, the mere physical attributes of products take on second and even third place as influences on consumption.

The advocates of social control over business, particularly over advertising, do not come from the "common man" level. Understandably, their viewpoint being different from that of the mass market buyers, their objectives differ as do their standards. Their goals of consumption are at variance with what the buying public seeks. Yet it is this level of thinking that permeates much social control legislation, and affects even more the interpretation and implementation of the law. In retrospect it is apparent that some of the social and economic objectives toward which much social legislation is aimed and the social philosophy of those who typically advocate, initiate, and enforce these rules are at odds with what the mass market of American consumers clearly demonstrate they want. Thus, they are at odds with the manner in which business competes to supply consumer demands. While some control may be necessary, it ought not to be imposed one law upon another like patches to cover emergencies, nor should more rules be made except as part of a long term plan for meeting the needs of an expanding economy which plan is formulated with due regard for the realities of the American social and competitive system.

What Is the Purpose?

How much control and supervision is needed depends upon (1) the purposes for which it is to be exercised, (2) how much the social, economic, and political system can afford without losing more than it gains, and (3) the limits imposed by the relative effectiveness of enforcement via the legislation route as against other methods of persuasion.

A fundamental criterion for judging any control proposal is the purpose it is to serve. The principal purpose for controls should be consumer protection against the consequences arising

[9] George Katona, *Psychological Analysis of Economic Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), p. 109.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from normal and reasonable acts where those consequences are usually fatal, permanently injurious, or otherwise irreparably harmful in significant degree. Such protection should be afforded the consumer against these consequences under the circumstances that with reasonable knowledge and the exercise of ordinary prudence and judgment he could not in the normal process of buying have discovered nor have had reason to expect such consequences and their high probability of occurrence. This criterion clearly rules out attempts to protect the individual against *all* risks or against *all* human error. Legislation cannot be looked upon as a device for removing all the hazards of living.

It is one thing to prohibit the sale of poisonous food, another to require a warning label on paint remover that it is unsafe to drink. One has a right to expect that a household deodorant is not explosive; he enjoys no such right against a "wonder drug" with "miracle ingredients" the risk of whose use is that it does not work supernatural cures.

The difference between "protecting the consuming public from injury by product use" and protecting "the purchasing public from injury by merchandising deceit" is critical and significant. Physical injury is relatively easier to identify – a person has been poisoned or burned, or he has not. The risk of physical injury is more universal – deleterious substances injure almost everyone and about equally. Of greater importance is that there may be less opportunity to recover from a physical injury, and a money-back guarantee or financial compensation is not compensatory in kind. Money payments cannot restore a scarred face. For this reason protection against exposure to such risk is needed and justified.

Economic Injury Recoverable

However, protection against exposure to risk of economic injury (beyond that offered under common law of fraud) is neither so necessary nor so justifiable. Injury by merchandising deceit is compensable financially. A buyer so injured can be restored to his former state. Moreover, economic gain or loss is determined largely subjectively: hence, it is difficult to identify and to measure by a public agency, for what may be a loss to one person may be a bargain to another. Legislative protection against exposure cannot be provided in any feasible manner so as to apply equitably to all.

Particularly is this true of advertising alleged to be misleading. It is pertinent we remind ourselves that advertising is propaganda. As

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such, it is used to gain the uncritical acceptance by the public of some conclusion predetermined by the propagandist. By definition it is "biased, partial, and one-sided" — to use the terminology of Professor Edmund D. McGarry.[10] Dr. McGarry goes on to say that if propaganda is to be effective," it must be expressed in terms in which the consumer thinks, with the same overtones and exaggerations of the product that the well-disposed consumer will attribute to it." It can be cogently argued that except for clear-cut falsity, so-called advertising deceit is as much a matter of inference as implication. As an example, admittedly extreme but true, the advertising of a reducing product was ruled "misleading, if not false" in Connecticut because (among other reasons no more relevant) it offered a money-back guarantee of effectiveness. This indicated to the enforcement agency that the sponsor *knew* his product would not be effective for each and every purchaser!

Where Are the Limits?

How far can social control be carried? To go further than to protect consumers beyond those extraordinary consequences from which there is no recovery is to enter a realm of protection that has no boundaries. Yet, this is just what Connecticut, various other states, and the federal government have done. Where this can lead is suggested by a Connecticut example.

In this state manufacturers of women's brassieres and corsets are licensed on the grounds that these items of wearing apparel are "devices" within the meaning of the law. Consider this imaginary, but not entirely impossible, extension of this regulation: With equal logic men's athletic supporters and suspensories should be similarly controlled since they, too, "affect the . . . function of the body." Do not sanitary products fall into this category? Certainly, shoes affect "the structure . . . of the body" and may reasonably be considered for inclusion. What about girdles, colonic syringes, as well as sunglasses? If sunglasses are included, why not also windshields on automobiles, and windows in homes, and so on, *ad infinitum*?

Once started, such attempts toward protection can know no limits. To go on is to saddle business with an unsupportable burden, to create an enforcement problem all but impossible to solve, and to seduce the consumer

[10] Edmund D. McGarry, "The Propaganda Function in Marketing," *The Journal of Marketing*, XXIII, No. 2, (October, 1958), 131-39.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into such a sense of false security and such dependence upon government as to threaten the foundations of the American democracy.

Even within the limits here regarded as acceptable, how much protection can the American system afford? For example, how far can the United States go in an attempt to protect a life (much less a pocketbook)? What costs can the nation incur, what costs will people accept?

Life Sometimes Risked

The preservation of human life is indubitably important within the American social scheme. Yet, there are situations in which the American people knowingly, willingly, and legally (if also with some measure of regret) subordinate life to other ends, e.g., capital punishment and war. The dawn of Christianity – a religion whose teachings are often used as a basis for advocating social legislation – began with a day of martyrdom. Life's blood has often gushed in defense of values greater than life, among them liberty. In a lesser sense, few projects for the construction of high bridges, turnpikes, and skyscrapers are undertaken today without the awareness that death may be part of the final cost. Many of today's sports involve the loss of life, and childbearing, one of the most commonly accepted experiences in life, is not without its death rate.[11] In short, loss of human life is by no means extraordinary in modern America.

While efforts are made to hold these losses of life to a "reasonable" minimum, there is seldom an attempt to achieve an absolute minimum in the sense of banning all automobiles from the streets as a means of stopping traffic fatalities. There is a limit beyond which the social group as a unit cannot or will not burden itself in the protection of the individual. Put baldly, the question, "How much is a human life or a pocketbook worth?" must be faced squarely if future social legislation is to be considered realistically. How much protection the American system can afford must be considered in terms of both the financial burdens imposed on the business structure for compliance and on the public for enforcement, as well as the implications for a private enterprise exchange system and a political democracy.

The cost of control as now provided on the statute books is clearly greater than the public has shown through its legislatures its

[11] It is notable that the will to preserve and protect human life does not extend in Connecticut and Massachusetts to permitting physicians to prescribe birth control measures even when the life of the mother and child may be forfeit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

willingness to pay. As measured by this criterion neither the states nor the federal government can afford *any* more controls. Indeed, it appears that the present monies provided each enforcement agency are just about sufficient to achieve only those objectives here proposed – protection of the consumer only against irrevocable losses. This suggests, at least, that this may be the level of protection genuinely wanted by the citizenry. Certainly, this appears to be the level they are thus far willing to pay for.

Social regulations have their incidence also on the costs of production and distribution, costs which ultimately the consumer must pay.

Undermining Self-Reliance

But there is an even more important, far-reaching cost inherent in public protective legislation: the tendency to undermine and to weaken the prudence, the foresight, and self-reliance of the individual. Clark[12] places "a competent and responsible people" at the head of his list of requirements for a successful democracy. Competent for what? Competent "to meet the terribly exacting demands of real democratic organization. . . ." This competence he takes to be derived from "education in the broadest sense and of the broadest kind."

"This means," he continues, "self-education more than instruction and includes all the factors of environment which may serve to develop intelligence."

Public education in the United States was founded on the principle that only an informed population could govern itself, independence of thought being the fruit of learning. But times have changed. Since the days of the colonies government has enacted more and more legislation whose effect has been to shift responsibility from the individual to the group. The result is a new generation whose sense of reliance upon government would have been unimaginable to their ancestors. Times have changed, but one factor in the social equation persists: dependence for an effective political democracy on an alert, informed, self-reliant, independent, thinking people.

A further succession of protective legislation can lull our people into such a false sense of security as to render us easy prey for demagoguery at home and aggression from abroad. In more fundamental terms, can a nation of overly protected people survive as a democracy? Is there not real danger in the assumption, an assumption seemingly inherent in the philos-

[12] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ophy of social control, that the perfect state of living permits of no losses, no accidents, no illness, no injury, no death?

Alternate Steps

If legislation is not the answer, what can be done? One approach is to fight fire with fire, to fight merchandising deceit with the publicity of *truth*. Such an approach would be to the advantage of enforcement agencies, of business, and particularly to the advantage of the consumer.

"The more complete the understanding on the part of industries concerned, the greater should be the compliance and the less costly the enforcement. . . . The greater the public knowledge the less difficult it should be to obtain the funds necessary for adequate enforcement. Further, the public will tend to demand compliance."[13]

Publicity is the means by which most businesses seek the favor of buyers. When this favor is sought by the concealment of significant dangers incident to ordinary use and which dangers cannot be detected or inferred by the casual buyer, adequate publicity exposing these dangers would counter the advertiser's effort. It would contribute to greater understanding and wider appreciation by the consumer of the need for vigilance and prudence while leaving him the latitude of free choice. Certainly merchandising and advertising falsification and deceit can be effectively exposed in this way.

But even within this context it remains critical that the criteria by which potential dangers and promotional puffery are judged be realistic, not idealistic. Under present state and federal law, to be legal an advertisement may not be false in any particular. Of this one may ask: In what other walk of life is similar substantiation of claims, a similar purity of truth required? Perhaps it is in the sciences. Yet, much that was once accepted as scientific truth has since been revealed to be either without foundation or downright false. Advertising is said to have great influence over consumers and therefore is properly subject to social supervision. But what could have a more profound and far-reaching effect on the American people than what is taught in their schools and in their churches? Despite this, our history books abound with inaccuracies. As for religion, one may wonder how long a commercial firm would be permitted to advertise such miracles, cures, and other benefits as are so glibly phrased

[13] Citizens Advisory Committee on the Food and Drug Administration Report to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. 84th. Cong., 1st Session, House Document #227.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the public utterances in behalf of religion. Further, it is, indeed, a curious facet of human behavior that the laws which require truth (in every particular) in advertising are enacted by politicians whose advertised promises and sales claims are, fortunately for them, not subject to the same tests of veracity.

Legislated Morality

In the centuries past, the hand of the thief was lopped off in retribution and as a warning to others; but thieving has not stopped. Capital punishment is slowly being discarded since criminology shows beyond reasonable doubt that electrocution, hanging, and asphyxiation have not effectively stopped murder. Morality cannot be produced through legislation.

Certainly, the moral level of business cannot be raised in this manner above that of the general population. It is forgotten, or overlooked, that business men and women are people; that they are members of the community and wear the cloak of business hardly more than (if as much as) half their waking hours. They are, at the same time, church members, contributors to charities, and taxpayers. They are also citizens. Their morality is not lower than that of their contemporaries. Instead, being on the whole somewhat more able intellectually than the general population and recognizing some responsibility as employers and producers (though they find it economically advantageous to be so), they are more inclined toward honesty and fair dealing than are those of the common morality. Many are the businessmen who have cheated their employees and customers; but there are many times more customers and employees who by equal guile have robbed, cheated, and deceived business. To single out business for social moralization in defense of consumers is tantamount to arresting only those lawbreakers who happen to be wearing a suit of particular color and weave at the time of their apprehension.

Individual Achievement

Unless and until a majority of a population not only verbalizes its endorsement of honesty and ethical dealing but also consciously and willingly observes this custom of behavior so as to make the law merely the formal expression of public practice, business will tend to meet the demands put upon it by the market. Offenders may be punished, but the law remains basically a sham and a mockery. The mass market may vocalize its endorsement of the principles ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressed in the laws, but its behavior belies its words.

To deprive the buying public of certain products because the effect of product use is short-lived, to ban desired goods because their selling price is "too high" above the cost of production is an invasion of the public's freedom of choice. To require (as Connecticut does) that goods may not be sold at less than 6 per cent above cost is not consumer protection but a fraud on the public. To attempt to force advertising into the straight-jacket of literal truth is to attempt a degree of control which has proved to be not only costly, but fruitless.

As a concluding generalization, it would seem that the long-run best interests of the nation will be served if to protect consumers by controlling business, particularly advertising, efforts are limited to those business activities or practices from whose consequences the citizen cannot recover. These the public will not only endorse, but will actively support. ◈

Self-Reliance

I YIELD TO NO MAN in the world in a hearty goodwill towards the great body of the working classes, but my sympathy is not of that morbid kind which would lead me to despond over their future prospects. Nor do I partake of that spurious humanity which would indulge in an unreasoning kind of philanthropy at the expense of the great bulk of the community. Mine is that masculine species of charity which would lead me to inculcate in the minds of the labouring classes the love of independence, the privilege of self-respect, the disdain of being patronised or petted, the desire to accumulate, and the ambition to rise. I know it has been found easier to please the people by holding out flattering and delusive prospects of cheap benefits to be derived from Parliament rather than by urging them to a course of self-reliance, but while I will not be a sycophant of the great, I cannot become the parasite of the poor.

RICHARD COBDEN, 1836

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whose Child Is This?

D. M. WESTERHOLM

I MET HIM only once – this straight bright lad, perhaps twelve years of age – but I remember him well.

He had a certain steady radiance which one rarely encounters but instinctively respects whenever and wherever it is found. Strength and self-respect were evident in his sturdy stance, his straight appraising gaze, and his firm handshake. And born of this self-respect was obvious respect for others.

I stood for a long while beside his small table at the Junior Science Fair, listening and watching with mounting pleasure as he explained his exhibit. With quick, sure movements he demonstrated his ingeniously engineered converter of solar energy to mechanical power. His thoughtful answers to questions showed a comprehensive knowledge of his subject. Clearly, this was not a project conceived and executed by a parent, and belonging to the child by name alone!

A well-known aircraft designer stopped to look, and then to chat, with evident delight. They laughed together over a mutually experienced phenomenon – the sixty-year-old creative engineer and the twelve-year-old student – and their rapport and respect for one another was a joy to behold. There was no trace of condescension from the one, nor overweening pride from the other. They were simply two scientists discussing their craft, their difference in age forgotten aside from the boy's clear respect for the wisdom and experience of the man.

The boy's patience with the trivial and foolish questions of some viewers evoked further ad-

Mrs. Westerholm is a Registered Nurse, housewife, and student of liberty of San Pedro, California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

miration, for not once did he take advantage of the situation to bolster his own ego by making someone else appear inferior.

Before leaving, I had to know who had taught him. "My father!" he replied with pride and affection. "He taught me how great it is to wonder about things – all sorts of things, and what fun it is to find out the answer for myself, and how lucky I am to live in a place where a fellow is allowed to try to find out in his own way." Do you see now why I cannot forget him? And why I feel so encouraged, so cheerful about the future?

Whose child is this? I wish I knew! I'd like very much to shake hands with his parents, to express my admiration and appreciation. One cannot teach such lessons to a child except as he first learned them well himself – and practiced them faithfully. With youngsters such as this, and with their parents, rests the ultimate fate of personal liberty in a free nation. Youngsters who delight in wondering, and in finding the answers themselves in their own way, and who appreciate and defend the freedom which allows this – these are the youngsters who will tend well the tree of liberty.

Such youngsters, knowing the delicious intoxication of search and discovery, are not apt to be victimized by that false narcotic, the glib political nonsense of "something for nothing." They are not apt to follow the false god of tyrannical power – not with their deep respect for the value of individual effort and the sanctity of the individual. Nor are they apt to be advocates of the let-George-do-it school; if asked, they will simply explain what seems to them the most effective way for the thing to be done, and leave it up to the questioner to do it himself if he wishes – just as they themselves have learned to do.

No, I shall never forget that boy. I wish I knew his name. Is he *your* child? ◈

Enter into Life

I HAVE OFTEN SAID to young parents, "Don't take struggle out of your children's lives."

The instinct of fathers and mothers is to do just that – to make "life easier for my boy than it was for me." It is interesting to note that youth is sounder in this matter than age. Youth revels in competitive sports, whether to do something better than his fellows, or to beat some previous record.

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Educational Crisis

ANDREW V. SANTANGINI

EDITOR'S NOTE: *In 1957 a group of distinguished citizens were appointed to the Alabama Education Commission to survey the educational needs of the state. When their report was submitted in 1959 to the Legislature, numerous public hearings were conducted by various legislative committees. The "public," for the most part, widely acclaimed the conclusions of the Commission; and the Legislature then approved a $100,000,000 bond issue, the proceeds to be used for education. The only known public testimony against the procedure was by a businessman from Montgomery.*

In 1963 the State Legislature enacted a series of tax measures designed to yield about $45,000,000 additional each year "to meet the pressing needs of education." In view of these developments in Alabama, more or less typical of procedures in other states, it seems appropriate to reproduce here the essence of Mr. Santangini's testimony as presented in 1959.

* * *

THAT A CRISIS EXISTS in education in the State of Alabama is at once apparent. Less obvious, however, is that this crisis is not so much financial as it is moral. The people of this state soon will be called upon to make a choice on this matter. They can either as-

Illustration: A. Devaney, Inc., New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sert their belief in the dignity of the individual, accepting the natural corollary of this belief – responsibility; or, they can indulge in the delusion that the problems of life, education being one, can be delegated to political authority. Our national history provides ample evidence of the rewards reaped by society, and therefore the individual, when the choice has been to assume personal responsibility. Conversely, history records quite clearly the disasters suffered by those who chose the second way. Since there are no other alternatives, the decision should, in a sense, be simple.

Individuals must realize that their own well-being, and that of their families, depends on their own efforts; or, they must be willing to become subservient to an all-powerful authority, with all the disgrace and degradation that implies. The indignity is no less at the local and state level than at the federal; there is just a little less authority connected with it.

This, then, is our crisis today, and a moral one it is. It cannot be swept under the carpet. It is distressing to observe, therefore, that the current discussions on education are being conducted as if the state only (the taxing authority) and not the individual has the answers to the numerous problems in that important field. With such limited vision, little wonder that well-intentioned men face frustrations as they seek solutions.

Let it be clear that these ideas are advanced, not as pat solutions, but with the thought that they may stimulate other and better ideas. After all, three million working minds should be much better than one. With regard to financing college level education, which primarily concerns us here, it is my belief that if the people of this state really want strong education for our young people, this can be achieved economically and in relatively painless fashion without requiring the services of armies of educational bureaucrats. This will be discussed later.

The Commission's Survey

First, however, a question concerning the Alabama Education Commission which was organized in 1957 to survey the educational needs of Alabama. It has been assumed that this body, consisting of distinguished and dedicated citizens, did its job so thoroughly that its findings and basic recommendations could be accepted as the final word on this subject. Granted that a mass of statistics was assembled, and that much effort went into the job, the question remains, "Was the effort channeled in the right direction?" Was the assignment conceived of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a simple mathematical relationship between numbers of students to teachers to classrooms to school buildings, all adding up to X number of dollars? Or did the commission probe deeply into underlying causes, followed by an exhaustive search for courageous rather than expedient solutions? Did it require such an exhaustive study to arrive at the conclusion that more of everything – primarily money – was needed?

There is not much evidence that serious consideration was given to any proposal for financing needs, other than additional taxation. This can hardly be considered a compliment to the Commission. Naturally enough, its recommendation that additional revenue be raised through taxation has received loud endorsement from those who feel the need and who would benefit most. It is interesting and important to note that at the *public* hearing, the public was conspicuous by its absence, while all the vested interests of education were out in force. Under these circumstances, it could hardly be expected that anything short of highest acclaim should have been rendered the report, and that it should ultimately be considered sacrosanct by all those having occasion to refer to it.

Even though the Legislature in its effort to chip away at the problem has decreed that better than $100,000,000 shall be drained from the purses of the public, it is a certainty that the roots of the troubles have remained untouched and much more will yet be heard about this. Let us see, therefore, if there are not other ways to tackle the task at hand.

Constructive Suggestions, Based on Belief in Freedom

The suggestions which follow have their origin in a fundamental belief in a free society for free men, the belief:

1. That he who benefits from a service should be the one to pay voluntarily its cost.

2. That with one or two obvious exceptions, such as the police and military functions of defending life and property with justice to all, there is nothing that government can do which cannot be done better and much more efficiently by private individuals.

Can these ideas be applied, practically, to higher level education in this state? If the will is there, then the answer is, "Yes, and quite simply, too!" A four point program is advanced as an example of what might be done:

1. All students, or parents, should be required to pay the full cost of their college education. That is, if it costs the school, say, $1,000 a year per student to pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vide education, then this is what the student should pay.

2. A system of loans administered privately or by the school, but in no instance by a public governing body, should be available to take care of those young people who find themselves both ready for college and unable to pay for it out-of-pocket. These loans can be repaid on all sorts of different terms.

3. The alumni of the different schools can raise funds for various desirable projects of alma mater.

4. Scholarship aid as at present.

Who Benefits?

Now, let us examine these, point by point. Who benefits from a college education? The individual, of course, and his immediate family, secondarily. Then why should these people not pay the bills? Is it not a parental obligation to do all possible to set aside funds for the education of one's own children? At a time when the legislature is talking in terms of $100,000,000 for higher education, we have the most preposterous situation imaginable on our college campuses: While the University and Auburn are charging perhaps $200 or $300 to provide educational services which really cost $1,000 or more per year, the campuses are clogged with autos driven by students – cars which cost the equivalent of one or two years' education. One can add many other examples of students indulging in high living at the same time the institutions which they attend are begging money for operating expenses. If John Q. Citizen, successful businessman, can afford to pay the $1,000 a year, or some portion of it, why should he not do so?

But let us not limit payment of costs involved to the well-to-do. With as high a standard of living as we enjoy in this nation, it is within the means of most any family to provide an educational nest egg by the practice of prudence, thrift, savings, and sacrifice. How many years of education (at full cost to the school) would that new boat, motor, and trailer have bought? Or that new air conditioning system, car, furniture, extra special vacation, you name it?

On the other hand, there are those who are sending their sons and daughters to private colleges within and without the state. Why should they be required to pay twice?

Again, the alternatives are simple and crystal clear. Either the citizen understands and discharges his own responsibilities, making whatever personal sacrifices are necessary, or he shrugs them

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

off and lets the state take charge, the way of socialism.

There are those who would have you believe that unless the public treasury is tapped, via the legislature, then the wheels of educational progress will grind to a halt, hordes of "deserving" young people will be deprived of an opportunity (they call it "right") for advanced education, and as a consequence of this, society will suffer. Without in the least denying that sound, inspirational education can be a powerful force for good, I would answer, first, that history would seem to support the observation that better and more wide-spread education for the populace has followed and not preceded an advance in economic and political development. Witness our own country! Then compare with India, whose socialistic economy poorly serves the population, though many individuals in India today have had higher education.

Second, the illusion persists that the public treasury is the only source of large funds. It should be obvious that these monies *first* belonged to the people, before they became political property. The only, and disastrous, difference is that the individual has been deprived of choice in the expenditure of this money; disbursement is accomplished by political and bureaucratic edict, instead. This may seem fine to those who believe in the nostrum, "From each according to ability, to each according to need," but the consequences of that abominable dictum should also be understood plainly. This is not the doctrine accountable for economic progress in our society.

Third, on the question of "deserving" students being deprived of educational opportunity, I'm convinced that public authority cannot be expected to be all things to all men. More importantly, I know of no way to help those who refuse to help themselves, be it in the field of foreign aid or domestic education. Many a man has helped himself answer this specific problem, some under the most severe handicaps, financial and physical. Where there is a will, there is usually a way. As a free society progresses, so do its methods of coping with problems such as this.

Student Loans

My second suggestion pertained to student loans. For the student who lacks all or a portion of the money needed for his years in college, then a loan fund administered either by the school or a private group can be established to make appropriate loans, at prevailing rates, with arrangement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for repayment after completion of formal education. Anyone who would object to this type of self-assistance could hardly merit the description – "deserving." In my opinion, here lies the solution to the "problem."

Fund Drives

Point three – alumni fund drives – requires no explanation. Given a motive, and spurred by a conviction that their financial efforts would be matched in prudent decisions by men of wisdom, the alumni of this state would, I am certain, raise funds in amounts calculated to make any old grad carry himself a bit more proudly.

Fourth, scholarship aid is self-explanatory.

What would be the impact of such a program on the colleges of this state? What results can be projected? Well, no one could possibly know! For the truth of the matter is that this program frees individuals and institutions from the shackles of the state. To the collectivist, this may be a most unpleasant state of affairs. But those who believe in the moral validity of a free society know that, even though unpredictable, the end results would be exciting and wonderful.

This much, however, is known. The quality of instruction would improve considerably, and courses which now make a mockery of some college curricula would disappear. Where a man is faced with a decision to spend a dollar which he has earned and sweat for – not one which has been tossed his way – then he will demand maximum satisfaction. He who renders the service for which the dollar is exchanged must therefore perform at his maximum capacity – otherwise the dollar goes elsewhere. This *is* fair exchange. One's own reasoning can carry him from this point to some very interesting speculations.

Does He Pay His Own Way – Or Does He Not?

I began by stating that our present crisis was not so much financial as moral. I have presented a simple program designed to cope with some of the financial problems involved. Each of the points I've mentioned requires a decision by an individual! For benefits received, does he pay his own way – or does he not? There it is! The answer given by the individual will determine the type of society in which he and his children will live.

For the moment, at least, good judgment has been abandoned; in my opinion, neither the Alabama Education Commission nor the Legislature warrant commenda-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. The Commission apparently narrowed its vision, starting with an inaccurate assumption and arriving at a conclusion which was faulty. The Legislature also failed to exercise responsible judgment and fiscal responsibility, placing upon all people of the state a financial burden of which they have yet to hear the last. Having failed to get to the root of the matter — $100,000,000 notwithstanding — the people of this state are probably destined for a repeat performance not too many years hence.

Left to their own devices, people can be extraordinarily wise. Contrary to the notions of the planners is this warning from the Constitution of the State of Alabama: "The sole object and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and when the government assumes other functions it is usurpation and oppression." ◈

MEMO: To Businessmen

ENTER FEE'S 1964 BUSINESS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Invite a college professor (or several) to study your business. It should improve the understanding of young men and women coming out of our colleges.

For details, write to W. M. Curtiss

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SOCIALIST ROAD TO TYRANNY

GEORGE N. CROCKER

ELBERT HUBBARD was a kindly man who searched for the good in socialism 60 years ago. He eventually defined it as "a sincere, sentimental, beneficent theory, which has but one objection, and that is, it will not work."

He was almost correct, but not completely. Socialism can be made to work – albeit badly – by the imposition of sheer coercion. The dream passes; the tyranny endures, an encrusting slag that seals out the air of freedom. In our times many important people have been slow to learn this. One of them was Ferhat Abbas.

When Algeria became independent in July, 1962, its new leaders proclaimed "a socialistic democracy." Jubilant was Ferhat Abbas, an elder statesman of the freedom movement, who became speaker of the National Assembly. He had read the same books which have misled many a visionary at the Sorbonne, or at Harvard or Stanford; so when the opportunity came, he worked hard for his ideal, which was a democratic government erected on an economic base of socialism.

He is a wiser man today. As nationalization proceeded, he became the last influential voice speaking for parliamentary and popular freedom in Algeria.

Ferhat Abbas has now resigned and will live abroad. Freedom, he learned, has to be sought elsewhere. To find it, he must go to a capitalist country with a relatively free economic system and a respect for private property. This is not what those books had told him.

Algeria's brand new Constitution explicitly adopts socialism, for that is the most expedient device to centralize all economic and political power in the ruling regime. This suits the designs of President Ahmed Ben Bella. Algeria is and will remain a one-party dictatorship.

Our home-grown socialist will smile and demur: "Ah, that is different; the socialism we advocate is the democratic kind." That was the kind poor Ferhat Abbas advocated. He learned too late what Elbert Hubbard told us long ago. It has to do with the nature of the human animal. That kind "will not work."

But, as our century is proving, it is a road to tyranny. Like the road to Hell, it is sometimes paved with good intentions. ◈

Mr. Crocker, author of *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*, is a columnist for the *San Francisco Examiner*. This article is from his column of September 1, 1963.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Propriety of Property

WHEN Paul Elmer More, the American humanist, defended the property right some forty years ago as something fully as important as the right to life, he offended a whole generation of young people who thought of him as a hard-hearted old reactionary. The history of the Western world since the Bolshevik Revolution, however, has served to indicate the humanity of Dr. More's position. When people are deprived of the property right, they live on sufferance – which means that they may not live at all.

Growing up in Hitler's Germany, at a time when the Nazi State treated all property as "social" – i.e., alienable for the purposes of the Nazi party – Gottfried Dietze, author of *In Defense of Property* (Regnery, $6.50) discovered the truth of Dr. More's reasoning long before he had reached the age of reason himself. By robbing people of their natural rights, including the right to property, Hitler made effective opposition to his warlike purposes impossible, and Germany drove straight toward disaster. "Small wonder," says Dr. Dietze, "that after the conflagration I delved into a study of free government." He became particularly impressed with America, where, as it seemed to him, protection of the Lockean triad of rights – to life, liberty, and property – was still visible as the basic end of government.

This was before Dr. Dietze had come to America in 1949. After ten years in this country, however, Dr. Dietze began to wonder whether his enthusiasm for his "idyll" was justified. The same forces that had undermined the theory of "natural rights" in Germany seemed to be operative here. "Civil rights" – the right to freedom of speech and assembly, the right to vote – were still respected. But everywhere he heard it being said that "human rights" were more important than property rights. People seemed to be losing the sense that the right to own is a human right, an inextricable part of the tissue of freedom. Their logic perverted by the growing opinion that "rights" are a dispensation of government, not antecedent to the formation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of government, people were getting the idea that rights can be made divisible by the wish of a majority. They were no longer able to apply the laws of physics to political "science." The laws of the material and corporeal world, no less than the laws of the spirit, should have told them that without ground to stand on nobody is really free to do anything else. The right to free speech and the right to own a Merganthaler linotype machine make a seamless web.

Historical Evaluation

How had the theory that rights are a political "grant," not a manifestation of the natural world, invaded the America that had produced the first great "natural rights" Constitution? To get to the bottom of this question, Dr. Dietze undertook the long "re-evaluation" that has resulted in his *In Defense of Property*. This book begins, in a way, with prehistory, for Dr. Dietze has been impressed with recent biological studies which prove that animals, whether carnivorous or vegetarian, will defend what they conceive to be their own living space. The property sense is fundamental to life even before life is capable of formulating the idea of law.

Dr. Dietze traces the property idea as it developed in the ancient world. He follows it on through medieval times, noting that the scholastics proclaimed the "property right" as both "natural and good." All of this is rather familiar history. What is not so familiar is the Dietze exposition of the ideas of Rousseau. Rousseau, it appears from Dr. Dietze's references, did not think of the property right as being at the mercy of his "general will." "Property," said Rousseau in his *Discourse on Political Economy*, "is the true foundation of civil society." He didn't propose that a mere vote of 51 per cent of the people (enough to compose a "general will") should be permitted to jeopardize the natural right of ownership.

Napoleon's Code

If this is an unfamiliar Rousseau, the French Revolution's respect for property will be equally unfamiliar to most modern readers. Dr. Dietze points out that the famous French Revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789 followed the American Founding Fathers in protecting property "as much as other liberal rights." Luckily, the equalitarians and the levelers of the French Revolution, a minority, failed to institute an eighteenth century form of socialism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When Napoleon, the inheritor and "protector" of the Revolution became the dictator of France, he put the "imprescriptible" right of property into the famous *Code Napoleon*. This civil code freed property in France from the shackles of the *ancien regime*, giving owners the right to "enjoy and dispose of things in the most absolute manner." The Napoleonic civil code came to be imitated all over Europe.

Undermining the Tradition

Dr. Dietze calls the English utilitarian, Jeremy Bentham, a defender of property, but once a second and third generation of utilitarians had elaborated the pragmatic philosophy that a "thing is true if it works," it became more and more difficult to defend the absolute inviolability of the property right. Dr. Dietze has some fascinating pages bearing on the rise of the Christian Socialists in England and the "Social Gospel" clergy in America. Reacting against the idea that property is a "natural" right, these soft-sell advocates of the theory that the possessions of men are held on sufferance, depending on the individual's willingness to use them for the benefit of "society," did more than Karl Marx to undermine the whole edifice of antifeudalistic classical liberalism.

The Christian Socialists "sold the pass" in the countries west of the Rhine. In Germany, the "socialists of the chair," in combination with the Prussian Bismarck, led the retreat from the *Code Napoleon* view of the sanctity of property. Adolph Wagner of the University of Berlin stressed the notion that private property is a "social-legal institution," based on the "life of the community as the source of law." Wagner's type of "historicism" impressed young American economists who studied in Germany in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Among these economists were Richard T. Ely and Simon Patten. It was under Ely's direction that the American Economic Association, formed in 1885, departed from classical theory to embrace the idea that property rights must be "adjusted" to new social conditions.

The Law Takes New Meaning by Court Interpretation

After the economists had been conquered by the "socialists of the chair," the jurists were next in line. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and Louis D. Brandeis succeeded in writing many of their views on the relativity of the property right into the fabric of the law. The New Deal in America followed the Holmes-Brandeis

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

line. In France and Germany, all the various twentieth century governments have been "property socializers." Dr. Dietze describes how Rudolf von Jhering in Germany and Leon Duguit in France sparked the legal revolution in their respective countries that enshrined the "positive law" (i.e., the theory that "law" is whatever a majority says it is) as something far more "realistic" than the old idea that "nature" creates the law for men to discern and follow as best they can.

Dr. Dietze's experience in America (he is a professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University) has not made him hopeful that recent trends will be easily reversed. Men now prefer democracy (which is a means of participating in government) to liberty (which should be the end of government). "We have lost the sense for the propriety of property," he says. And now that this "sense for the propriety" of the property right has gone, how can men count upon a guaranteed possession of the leverage position upon which all other rights depend? One must have an inviolable fulcrum if one hopes to move the earth. And one must have an inviolable place of retreat if one is to support oneself despite the policies of governments. ◈

▸ LAW, LIBERTY AND PSYCHIATRY by Thomas Szasz, M.D. (Macmillan, $7.50).

Reviewed by Robert M. Thornton

DR. SZASZ'S book may not win him friends among his fellow psychiatrists, but libertarians should acclaim his learned and well-written defense of individual liberty against the encroachments of what he calls the "therapeutic State." If his *The Myth of Mental Illness* (Harper, 1961) provoked a few dozen screams from his profession, *Law, Liberty and Psychiatry* ought to set off a couple of hundred. But the uproar will not ruffle the man in the least, for he is not afraid to stand alone against the opinions of "experts" or majorities.

It is Dr. Szasz's contention that "mental illness" does not exist — unless the term be used as a synonym for brain disease, in which case why not call it that and avoid confusion? The term "mental illness" implies obnoxious and socially deviant behavior; it is labeling a man "sick" when he may be merely different. A neurosis, unlike a disease, is something a person *is*, not something he *has*. This whole subject is dealt with at length in *The Myth of Mental Illness*, but only briefly in the book under review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The present book shows the increasing use of the concept of "mental illness" in the courts. Whereas formerly the accused was regarded as a man who deserved punishment for his crime, he is now frequently looked upon as a sick man who needs treatment for his illness. Many a lawbreaker has entered a plea of insanity in order to avoid the penalties for his crime. This practice has become more common in recent times. But today something new has been added; we hear of cases where the authorities and not the defendant enter the insanity plea. The defendant may plead guilty and request punishment as prescribed by law; but to no avail if the authorities decide he is, or at the time of the crime was, mentally incompetent and is thus not legally responsible for his acts.

The danger to individual liberty here is not as remote a threat as some might think. In the past few years two men critical of the activities of the federal government have violated certain statutes and been arrested. But instead of simply being punished according to law with fines or imprisonment, they have first been examined by psychiatrists to determine if they were mentally competent and responsible for their acts. Now whatever one may think of these two men or their political views, is it not a ridiculous and terrible thing to question their sanity because they disagree with the majority or with public officials? It requires but little imagination to see how a totalitarian state can use psychiatry as an effective tool to squelch opposition.

But, someone may exclaim, what of our constitutionally guaranteed liberties? Well, it is true that the Bill of Rights has not yet been repealed, but, as Dr. Szasz points out, its guarantees of individual freedom are necessarily ignored in psychiatric cases; the legal safeguards which protect the accused in criminal cases are by-passed when some authority rules that he is unable to stand trial as a responsible person.

This nation has always prided itself on having a government of laws, not of men. But in psychiatric cases the Rule of Law is replaced by discretionary treatment which, while it may be occasionally lenient, is always arbitrary and subjective. No intelligent person would claim perfection for our present system of courts, juries, and judges, but how much better is their impersonal machinery than any conceivable system of administrative law under which the alleged lawbreaker

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would be at the mercy of an individual or committee not bound by laws or subject to review by a higher court?

Dr. Szasz underscores one of the strange paradoxes of our time: Though relativism is all the rage among the so-called intellectuals, these very same people insist that some men are so gifted as to possess the right to impose their rule over those not so well-endowed. Hence, their opposition to the market economy under which each individual makes his own plans, and their hankering for a centrally directed economy under which the superminds and master planners can direct the efforts of their fellow citizens. They are impatient with congresses and their seemingly endless debates; they prefer an executive vested with almost unlimited powers to make decisions for the rest of us.

Dr. Szasz offers a well-reasoned warning that we had best heed before it is too late. If the present course continues, the consequence will be a return to a status society, in contrast to our present contractual one. Would this not be a retreat into barbarism?

Should we not treat all persons as responsible for their acts – while tempering justice with mercy? Some people do need help with the problems of living, even psychiatric help. But they should be helped back to responsible manhood and womanhood. Then they may grow and develop as human beings. We become more human by becoming more responsible. The irresponsible life, like the unexamined one, is not worth living. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Warning

MENTAL DEBASEMENT is the greatest misfortune that can befall a people. The most pernicious of conquests which a state can experience is a conquest over that just and elevated sense of its own rights which inspires a due sensibility to insult and injury; over that virtuous and generous pride of character, which prefers any peril or sacrifice to a final submission to oppression, and which regards national ignominy as the greatest of national calamities. The records of history contain numerous proofs of this truth. . . . The nation, which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a MASTER and deserves one.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON
February 21, 1797

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDEX

THE FREEMAN, Volume 13, January-December 1963

Prepared by VERNELIA A. CRAWFORD of the Foundation staff

NOTE: In page references, the number preceeding the colon designates the month; the number following the colon refers to pages.

All Book Reviews are listed in a separate section on page 63 according to the title of book.

A

Acres of Diamonds. By C. Manion, 7:57
Aggression Is Always Wrong. By C. Howell, 10:16
All Freedom or No Freedom. By W. Chamberlin, 7:22
American Tradition, The. By C. Carson, 4:3; 5:21; 6:11; 7:35; 8:45; 9:26; 10:3; 11:32; 12:13
Americanism in Action. By J. Raley, 7:31
America's Unique Happy-Ending Revolution. By W. Chamberlin, 10:20
Annals of Tacitus, The, Book I, Chapter II
  Lesson from Rome, A; quote, 5:34
Anonymous
  Paradox of the Means, The, 1:16
Appeal-Democrat (Marysville, Calif.)
  What Kind of a "Nut" Is He? editorial, 4:52
Apples of Finniss Creek, The. By S. Yankus, 8:6

B

Baines, Edward
  Cotton Textiles, 1760-1835; quote, 1:58
Balance in a Free Society. Quote by C. Greenewalt, 12:66
Barger, Melvin D.
  Experiments in Collectivism, 2:46
  Failures of Private Enterprise, The, 9:13
  Real Weakness of Unions, The, 5:3
Beetle and the Centipede, The. By W. Paton, 10:27
Belgion, Montgomery
  Secret of Political Wisdom, The, 4:53
Bien, Bettina
  Problem of Production, The, 3:13
"Big Red" Makes a Choice. By W. Howell, 8:56
Book, William H.
  Federal Aid: Bane or Blessing? quote, 4:12
Bradford, Ralph
  Calamity! 10:19
  Education Now and Then, 10:30
  Little Jack Horner, 8:58
Bureaucracy Kills — A Lesson from Rome. By W. Chamberlin, 1:32
Burgess, John W.
  Liberty Through Civilization; quote 5:66
"Business Is Entitled to a Fair Profit." By L. Read, 4:38
Businessman's Morals, The. By F. DeArmond, 6:25
. . . But Not Yet. By G. Conklin, 9:39

C

Calamity! By R. Bradford, 10:19
Carroll, Warren
  Rebels of Hope, 1:29
Carson, Clarence B.
  American Tradition, The
    (1) There was an American Tradition, 4:3
    (2) Of Constitutionalism and Higher Law, 5:21
    (3) Of Republican Government, 6:11
    (4) Of Federalism, 7:35
    (5) Of Individualism, 8:45
    (6) Of Equality, 9:26
    (7) Of Voluntarism, 10:3
    (8) Of Free Economic Intercourse, 11:32
    (9) Of Internationalism, 12:13
  Individualism vs. *Commonism*, 2:34
Case for Economic Freedom, The. By B. Rogge, 9:3
Chamberlain, John
  Matter of Definition, A., 4:48
  Nobody Has a Right To Live But Me, 6:31
Chamberlin, William Henry
  All Freedom or No Freedom, 7:22
  America's Unique Happy-Ending Revolution, 10:20
  Bureaucracy Kills — A Lesson from Rome, 1:32
  Man's Destiny — Forced or Free? 8:39
City Zoning — An Economic Wasteland. By D. Terry, 11:28
Clinchy, Russell J.
  Who Will Refuse? quote, 5:64
Coase, Ronald
  Monopoly of the Mails, 7:64
Coercion and the State. Quote By F. Maitland, 7:66
Communication. Quote from *Manas,* 1:66
Confusion about Democracy. By H. Smith, 2:28
Conklin, Gordon
  . . . But Not Yet, 9:39

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constitutional Liberty. By D. Webster, 1:27
Consumer Protection and Freedom of Choice. By R. Smith, 12:31
Cooley, Oscar W.
What Is Employment? 11:3
Cotton Textiles, 1760-1835. Quote By E. Baines, 1:58
Courage To Stand. By J. Raley, 6:43
Crisis of Social Security, The. Quote by F. Hayek, 10:26
Crocker, George N.
Socialist Road to Tyranny, 12:52
Crowd Culture. Quote by G. Le Bon, 1:49
Curran, John Philpot
Eternal Vigilance; quote, 6:66
Curtiss, W. M.
Wages and Productivity, 11:12

D

DeArmond, Fred
Businessman's Morals, The. 6:25
Democracy and Guaranteed Jobs. By D. Russell, 2:31
Democracy and Progress. Quote by F. Harper, 6:48
Developing Disorders — East and West. By W. Lunden, 3:53

E

Earning a Profit. Quote from *Washington Report*, 1:14
Economic Growth. Quote by N. McKinnon, 1:31
Economic Growth. By D. Russell, 1:31
Economic Role of Saving and Capital Goods, The. By L. Mises, 8:28
Education Now and Then. By R. Bradford, 10:30
Educational Crisis, The. By A. Santangini, 12:45
Elsom, Harold B.
Freedom — a Biological Necessity, 2:3
Perceptual Basis of Liberty, The, 10:40
Emerson in Suburbia. By S. Withers, 3:47
Eternal Search for Truth, The. By. H. Margenau, 7:20
Eternal Vigilance. Quote by J. Curran 6:66
Experiments in Collectivism. By M. Barger, 2:46

F

Failures of Private Enterprise, The. By M. Barger, 9:13
Feather, William
Opportunity; quote, 12:28
Federal Aid: Bane or Blessing? Quote by W. Book, 4:12
Fertig, Lawrence
How "Newspeak" Changes Plain Words, 5:35
For the Good of Others. By L. Read, 7:11
Foreshadows of the Declaration of Independence in the New York Press. By R. Polin, 7:14
Freedom — a Biological Necessity. By H. Elsom, 2:3
Freedom Follows the Free Market. By D. Russell, 1:18
Freedom To Fail, The. Quote by G. Smith, 4:40
Fuel for Government. Quote by L. Stearns, 3:66

G

Gates, Robert L.
We Call It Freedom, 4:13
Ghost Towns. By J. Sparks, 5:37
Government in the Textile Business. By M. Lefkoe, 2:50
Government IS in Business, The. By P. Poirot, 9:19
Government Relief. By R. Heiple, II, 6:22
Great Britain's Age of Economic Growth. By G. Winder, 10:53
Greenewalt, Crawford H.
Balance in a Free Society; quote, 12:66

H

Harmony Out of Chaos. By F. Harper, 1:42
Harper, F. A.
Democracy and Progress; quote, 6:48
Harmony Out of Chaos, 1:42
On Breeding Prosperity, 8:34
Hayek, F. A.
Crisis of Social Security, The; quote, 10:26
Hazlitt, Henry
Rich Man, Poor Man; quote, 10:66
Heiple, Rae C., II
Government Relief, 6:22
Herz, James
I Want My 63¢ Back! 8:15
High Cost of High Tax Rates, The. From *The Morgan Guaranty Survey*, 2:10
Hochderffer, Joe
Think Small, 4:50
How "Newspeak" Changes Plain Words. By L. Fertig, 5:35
How Not To Win. By D. Russell, 4:57
How To Attract Capital. By W. Wriston, 12:11
How To Pick a Pocket or Two. From *The Wall Street Journal*, 6:41
Howell, Craig
Aggression Is Always Wrong, 10:16
Howell, William E.
"Big Red" Makes a Choice, 8:56
Hubbard, Elbert
Message to Garcia, A., 9:57

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I

I Want My 63¢ Back! By J. Herz, 8:15
Indians under Control. By E. Shaker, 6:54
Individualism vs. *Commonism*. By C. Carson, 2:34
Is Economic Freedom Possible? By B. Rogge, 4:14
Is Labor a Commodity? By P. Poirot, 2:58

J

Jenkins, H. P. B.
  Cutting Taxes, 2:33
  Depressed Area, A, 3:31
  Illegal Labor, 4:25
  New Year's Wish, A, 1:15
Just and the Unjust, The. From *The Wall Street Journal*, 3:27

K

Kakistocracy. By L. Read, 8:19
Kaspar Family, The, 4:24
Kent, James
  Sense of Property, The; quote, 11:66

L

Laws Follow Beliefs. By D. Russell, 2:9
Le Bon, Gustave
  Crowd Culture; quote, 1:49
Least of All, the Family. By J. Sparks, 3:41
Lefkoe, M. R.
  Government in the Textile Business, 2:50
Lesser of Two Evils, The. By L. Read, 2:18
Lesson from Rome, A. Quote from *The Annals of Tacitus*, Book I, Chapter II, 5:34
"Liberal" Way, The. By L. Stone, 1:39
Liberty and Taxes. By B. Smith, 3:16
Liberty through Civilization. Quote By J. Burgess, 5:66
Lincoln, Abraham
  To Each, His Own; quote, 2:66
Little Jack Horner. By R. Bradford, 8:58
Lunden, Walter A.
  Developing Disorders — East and West, 3:53
Lure of a Lost Cause, The. By E. Opitz, 8:3

M

McKinnon, N. J.
  Economic Growth; quote, 1:31
Mahaffy, Francis E.
  Social Justice, 9:52
Maitland, F. W.
  Coercion and the State; quote, 7:66
Man Named Frank, A. By J. Raley, 2:54
Manas
  Communication; quote, 1:66
Manion, Clarence
  Acres of Diamonds, 7:57
  Right and Wrong — — Not Right and Left, 7:3
Man's Destiny — Forced or Free? By W. Chamberlin, 8:39
Margenau, Henry
  Eternal Search for Truth, The, 7:20
Matter of Definition, A. By J. Chamberlain, 4:48
Mercantilism: A Lesson for our Times? By M. Rothbard, 11:16
Message to Garcia, A. By E. Hubbard, 9:57
Mirage of Selflessness, The. By J. Sparks, 9:41
Mises, Ludwig von
  Economic Role of Saving and Capital Goods, The, 8:28
Monopoly of the Mails. Quote by R. Coase, 7:64
Morgan Guaranty Survey, The
  High Cost of High Tax Rates, The, 2:10
Munsterberg, Hugo
  Spirit of Self-direction, The; quote, 4:66

N

Nobody Has a Right To Live But Me. By J. Chamberlain, 6:31

O

Of Constitutionalism and Higher Law. By C. Carson, 5:21
Of Equality. By C. Carson, 9:26
Of Federalism. By C. Carson, 7:35
Of Free Economic Intercourse. By C. Carson, 11:32
Of Individualism. By C. Carson, 8:45
Of Internationalism. By C. Carson, 12:13
Of Republican Government. By C. Carson, 6:11
Of Voluntarism. By C. Carson, 10:3
On Breeding Prosperity. By F. Harper, 8:34
Opitz, Edmund A.
  Lure of a Lost Cause, The, 8:3
Opportunity. Quote by W. Feather, 12:28
Our Unique Economic System. By B. Smith, 5:43

P

Parable of the Wise Men, The. By L. Taylor, 2:16
Paradox of the Means, The. Anonymous, 1:16
Paton, William A.
  Beetle and the Centipede, The, 10:27
Perceptual Basis of Liberty, The. By H. Elsom, 10:40
Peterson, William H.
  Power To Tax, The, 5:17

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Petro, Sylvester
Property Rights; quote, 9:66
Phillips, H. B.
Value of Freedom, The; quote, 8:66
Poirot, Paul L.
Government IS in Business, The, 9:19
Is Labor a Commodity? 2:58
To Abolish Sweatshops, 7:28
World's Largest Lottery, The, 6:3
Polin, Raymond
Foreshadows of the Declaration of Independence in the New York Press, 7:14
Power To Tax, The. By W. Peterson, 5:17
Problem of Production, The. By B. Bien, 3:13
Profits. By B. Rogge, 8:8
Profits – Their Consequences. From 1962 Annual Report of U. S. Steel Corp., 7:48
Property Rights. Quote by S. Petro, 9:66
Protective Taxes and Wages. Quote by W. Sumner, 2:60
Public vs. the Private Sector, The. By W. Wallis, 1:53

Q

Question of Color, A. By J. Sparks, 11:50

R

Raley, Jess
Americanism in Action, 7:31
Courage To Stand, 6:43
Man Named Frank, A, 2:54
There Must Be a Better Way, 9:50
Wee Bit of Truth, A, 1:50
Read, Leonard E.
"Business Is Entitled to a Fair Profit," 4:38
For the Good of Others, 7:11
Kakistocracy, 8:19
Lesser of Two Evils, The, 3:32
Socialism: A Barren System, 3:32
To Alleviate Misfortune, 11:46
What Shall Be Prohibited? 12:3
Real Weakness of Unions, The. By M. Barger, 5:3
Rebels of Hope. By W. Carroll, 1:29
Reflections on Individual Responsibility. By R. Thornton, 6:7
Restrictionist Pricing of Labor. By M. Rothbard, 5:11
Rich Man, Poor Man. Quote by H. Hazlitt, 10:66
Riding a Rocking Horse. From *The Wall Street Journal*, 12:29
Right and Wrong – Not Right and Left. By C. Manion, 7:3
Roe, Charles H.
What Happened to the Constitution? 4:41
Rogge, Benjamin A.
Case for Economic Freedom, The, 9:3
Is Economic Freedom Possible? 4:14
Profits, 8:8
Rothbard, Murray N.
Mercantilism: A Lesson for Our Times? 11:16
Restrictionist Pricing of Labor, 5:11
Russell, Dean
Democracy and Guaranteed Jobs, 2:31
Economic Growth, 4:26
Freedom Follows the Free Market, 1:18
How Not To Win, 4:57
Laws Follow Beliefs, 2:9
Sources of Governmental Authority, 3:3
Wages and Unemployment, 5:9

S

Santangini, Andrew V.
Educational Crisis, The, 12:45
Secret of Political Wisdom, The. By M. Belgion, 4:53
Sense of Property, The. Quote by J. Kent, 11:66
Shaker, Edna
Indians under Control, 6:54
Smith, Bradford B.
Liberty and Taxes, 3:16
Our Unique Economic System, 5:43
Smith, George Cline
Freedom To Fail, The; quote, 4:40
Smith, Harry L.
Confusion about Democracy, 2:28
Smith, Roland B.
Consumer Protection and Freedom of Choice, 12:31
Social Justice. By F. Mahaffy, 9:52
Socialism: A Barren System. By L. Read, 3:32
Socialist Road to Tyranny. By G. Crocker, 12:52
Sources of Governmental Authority. By D. Russell, 3:3
Sparks, John C.
Ghost Towns, 5:37
Least of All, the Family, 3:41
Mirage of Selflessness, The, 9:41
Question of Color, A, 11:50
Urban Renewal – Opportunity for Land Piracy? 1:3
With Time To Spare, 6:34
Spirit of Self-direction, The. Quote by H. Munsterberg, 4:66
Stamps and the Labor Theory of Value. By L. Stearns, 2:44
Stearns, Lewis
Fuel for Government; quote, 3:66
Stamps and the Labor Theory of Value, 2:44
Stone, Louis
"Liberal" Way, The, 1:39
Sumner, William Graham
Protective Taxes and Wages; quote, 2:60

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T

Taylor, Lola A.
Parable of the Wise Men, The, 2:16
Terry, Donald R.
City Zoning — An Economic Wasteland, 11:28
There Must Be a Way. By J. Raley, 9:50
There Was an American Tradition. By C. Carson, 4:3
Think Small. By J. Hochderffer, 4:50
Thornton, Robert M.
Reflections on Individual Responsibility, 6:7
To Abolish Sweatshops. By P. Poirot, 7:28
To Alleviate Misfortune. By L. Read, 11:46
To Each, His Own. Quote by A. Lincoln, 2:66

U

United States Steel Corporation (Annual Report, 1962)
Profits — Their Consequences, 7:48
Urban Renewal — Opportunity for Land Piracy: By J. Sparks, 1:3

V

Value of Freedom, The. Quote by H. Phillips, 8:66

W

Wages and Productivity. By W. Curtiss, 11:12
Wages and Unemployment. By D. Russell, 5:9
Wall Street Journal, The
How To Pick a Pocket or Two, 6:41
Just and the Unjust, The, 3:27
Riding a Rocking Horse, 12:29
Wallis, W. Allen
Public vs. the Private Sector, The, 1:53
Washington Report
Earning a Profit; quote, 1:14
We Call It Freedom. By R. Gates, 4:13
Webster, Daniel
Constitutional Liberty, 1:27
Wee Bit of Truth, A. By J. Raley, 1:50
Westerholm, D. M.
Whose Child Is This? 12:43
With Faith and Patience, 6:49
What Happened to the Constitution? By C. Roe, 4:41
What Is Employment? By O. Cooley, 11:3
What Kind of a "Nut" Is He? Editorial in *Appeal-Democrat* (Marysville, Calif.), 4:52
What Shall Be Prohibited? By L. Read, 12:3
Who Will Refuse? Quote by R. Clinchy, 5:64
Whose Child Is This? By D. Westerholm, 12:43
Winder, George
Great Britain's Age of Economic Growth, 10:53
With Faith and Patience. By D. Westerholm, 6:49
With Time To Spare. By J. Sparks, 6:34
Withers, Samuel
Emerson in Suburbia, 3:47
World's Largest Lottery, The. By P. Poirot, 6:3
Wriston, Walter B.
How To Attract Capital, 12:11

Y

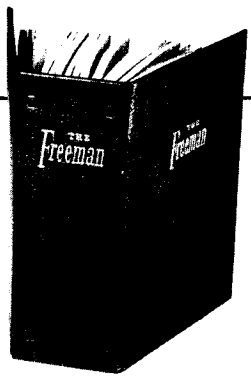
Yankus, Stanley
Apples of Finniss Creek, The, 8:6

BOOK REVIEWS

American Economic Republic, The. By A. Berle. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 8:59
American Viking. By J. Dugan. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 4:59
America's Great Depression. By M. Rothbard. Reviewed by P. Greaves, Jr., 11:61
Anatomy of Britain. By A. Sampson. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 3:61
Automation: The Impact of Technological Change. By Y. Brozen. Reviewed by P. Poirot, 6:64
Capitalism and Freedom. By M. Friedman. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 5:60
Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America, The. By J. Burns. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 6:60
Economics of the Free Society. By W. Roepke. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 7:58
Enterprising Americans, The: A Business History of the United States. By J. Chamberlain. Reviewed by K. Templeton, Jr., 7:61
Essays on Liberty, Vol. X. Published by FEE. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 10:61
Fateful Turn, The. By C. Carson. Reviewed by M. Barger, 6:62
Free and Prosperous Commonwealth, The. By L. Mises. Reviewed by P. Greaves, Jr., 8:62
Fundamentals of Voluntary Health Care. Edited by G. de Huszar. Reviewed by P. Poirot, 1:62
In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo. By F. Meyer. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 2:61

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Defense of Property. By G. Dietze. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 12:53
Journey Through the Soviet Union. By V. Royster. Reviewed by A. Brustat, 1:64
Law, Liberty and Psychiatry. By Thomas Szasz. Reviewed by R. Thornton, 12:56
Making of Economic Society, The. By R. Heilbroner. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 1:59
Man's Presumptuous Brain By A. Simeons. Reviewed by E. Opitz, 5:63
Miseducation of American Teachers, The. By J. Koerner. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 9:61
Paper Economy, The. By D. Bazelon. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 11:57
Self-government with Union. Compiled by Verna M. Hall. Reviewed by J. Chamberlain, 6:58
TV: From Monopoly to Competition. By W. Altman, D. Thomas, and D. Sawers. Reviewed by M. Barger, 4:62



HANDSOME BLUE LEATHERLEX

Freeman Binders —

BINDERS ONLY— $2.25

Special while they last —

BINDERS, with issues inserted for calendar year 1963 $5.00

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK 10533

Please send me:

_____Binder(s) @ $2.25

_____Binders and issues @ $5.00

☐ Check enclosed

☐ Please bill me

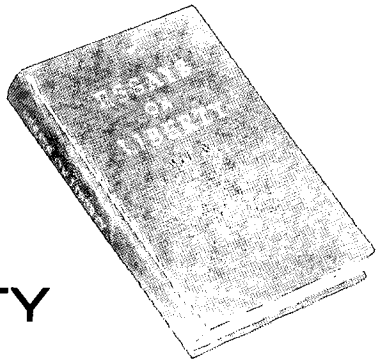
NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____

STATE, ZIP CODE_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ESSAYS ON LIBERTY

Volume 10 — 48 essays — 32 authors

This new and latest volume (448 pages, indexed) contains selected writings of the best from THE FREEMAN and NOTES FROM FEE for the year ended March 1963.

Consider this volume, either singly or in the set, as an addition for your own library, or as a gift to friends.

The Foundation for Economic Education
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York 10533

Please send me ESSAYS ON LIBERTY, as circled below:

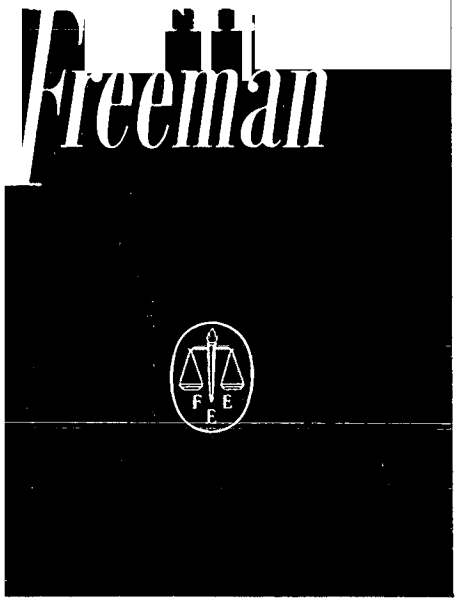
	Paper	*Cloth*
VOLUME X, single copy	$ 2.00	$ 3.00
VOLUME X, 10 copies for	17.00	25.00
VOLUMES IX and X, both for	3.30	5.00
The Set of all 10 volumes	16.00	24.00

MY NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE FREEMAN may be forwarded anywhere in the U. S. A. No wrapper required.

From:

BALANCE IN A FREE SOCIETY

■ Left to its own devices, the free society takes care of the balance between disciplines almost automatically. Granted individual freedom of choice and a sufficiently large population, it is inevitable that each creative discipline will have its fair share of practitioners to the end that balance is maintained.

The capacity for creative accomplishment is a precious commodity, not to be wasted, not to be diluted. . . . A wise distribution of our talents will be productive of progress on all fronts. Undue emphasis on any one of them, even such an important field as scientific progress, will, I am sure, be carried forward only with the improverishment of all our efforts — and I am not at all certain that the principal victim might not prove to be science itself. The society which creates scientists by diminishing the ranks of its philosophers may in the end have little need for either.

CRAWFORD H. GREENEWALT
From an address before the
Society of Chemical Industry,
New York City, September 24, 1963

To: _____

_____
street

_____
city zone state

PLACE 6-CENT POSTAGE HERE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED